

THE ROLE OF AFFIXATION IN THE GRAMMAR OF IGBO

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### Abstract

The first part of the work is introductory to the second part and deals briefly with the following topics:

- (i) Phonology:
  - (a) the function of tones in Igbo;
  - (b) tonemeperturbation;
  - (c) tone assimilation;
  - (d) vowel harmony;
  - (e) vowel assimilation;
  - (f) vowel elision;
  - (g) consonants:
- (ii) Morphology:
  - (a) the morphological processes of duplication, reduplication, and triplication;
  - (b) classes of verbs and the structure of verbs:
- (iii) Syntax:
  - (a) the major types of Independent Verbal Clauses, both Simplex and Complex, Positive and Negative;
  - (b) discussion of 'auxiliary verbs';
  - (c) discussion of 'participle', 'cognate object', and 'na' prefix, and their rejection.

The second part deals with the grammatical and lexical uses of affixes. The grammatical use of affixes is of two types:

(i) Inflexional: the representation of the following grammatical categories by affixes: (a) Tense;

(b) Aspect;

(c) Case;

(d) Number;

(e) Modality;

(f) Anaphora;

(g) Comparison;

(h) Emphasis;

(ii) Derivational: the use of affixes to derive from verbs:

(a) Non-finite verbs;

(b) Nouns;

(c) Adjectives;

(d) Adverbs.

The final chapter deals with lexical suffixes and provides lists of verbs with such suffixes.



The Work and its Contributions to the Study of the Language

The work which is presented here is entirely original. It is in part an off-shoot of the dialect survey of Igbo which the author undertook as a Research Fellow at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, but which was not completed because of the Nigeria-Biafra war. However, the materials for the work as it stands were obtained from Mr. Timothy Ekeleme Uchendu, a male nurse, Mr. Udemba Nlewedin, a photographer - both of whom come from the village of the author, Umūdà Isingwù, in Umūahia - and Mr. J.O. Atuloma of Umūophara, Umūahia, who was formerly in the Nigeria Diplomatic Service. Further materials were obtained from a number of pamphlets and books written in Igbo by Igbo writers, and from recordings made available from the following sources: the Department of Africa, SOAS, which supplied me with some recordings made by Miss M.M. Green, M.A., sometime ago; Mr. Mark Inman, a former C.M.S. missionary in Nigeria, who gave me his recordings and teaching course in the Onitsha dialect; Mrs. Ella Floyer, formerly of the Census Office, Enugu, who lent to me her recordings of stories and songs by Igbo school children from various parts of Igbo land; and the Rev. A.K. Mincher, formerly of the Church of Scotland Mission, Òhàfya, who sent me copies of his recordings of conversations in the Òhàfya dialect.

In addition to these sources, the author listened

unobtrusively and critically to speeches by Igbo speakers from different dialect areas at social and formal occasions in London, and during his three-week visit home in February 1973 continued his observation, and checked some of his conclusions.

In the view of the author, the present work is an advance in the study of Igbo in both a major and a minor way. In the major dimension it shows: (a) that affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) have grammatical roles in the language; (b) that the majority of suffixes, in particular, have grammatical functions, but in different dimensions of the grammar (contrary to the prevalent view which makes all suffixes, except possibly two or three, semantic elements), although lexical suffixes also exist; (c) that the Adjective class is an open class derived by affixation and various morphological processes, contrary to the view which states that the adjectives of the language consist of only eight words; (d) that there is an adverb class a number of the members of which are morphologically derived. (e) As a consequence of the recognition of the grammatical function of affixes, a new and fresh approach will be adopted in the analysis of Igbo yielding more accurate categorization, and leading to a more explicit formalization of the grammar in transformational terms, probably along the lines suggested by the model tentatively proposed by P.A.M. Seuren in

'Operators and Nucleus' rather than by adopting the Chomskian model as it now stands. (f) For the first time the 'Comparative Sentence Construction' has been described to show how 'comparison' is handled by the language.

In the minor dimension, the work indicates (g) what types of tones have grammatical functions and what types have lexical; (h) describes 'toneme-perturbation', 'tone-assimilation', 'vowel-assimilation', 'vowel elision' in the language; (i) describes three regular morphological processes in frequent use - 'duplication', 'reduplication', and 'triplication'; and (j) summarily systematizes the major Independent Clause types of the language. All these things have not been done before.

Furthermore, although what is presented in this work is based on the *Dhnyhny* dialect, for consistency, it will be found that a great deal of its findings are applicable to a number of dialects. Thus this work will facilitate the study of other dialects of the language.

Finally, by ensuring a better grasp and understanding of the grammar of Igbo, the findings presented here should help lexicographers to produce dictionaries of the language in which the entries are more accurately described grammatically, as well as semantically, and thus produce reliable tools for the further study of the language.

### Acknowledgement

I will not feel that I have completed this work until I have expressed my gratitude to those without whom it could not have been begun let alone finished. So I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to :

Professor R.H. Robins and Professor J. Carnochan who gave me the opportunity to register and research for the thesis at the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and later offered me an Assistantship which enabled me to carry on;

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Grace, my wife, and our children, who, with understanding love and care created for me, in the face of difficulties, a home and family atmosphere which eased the stress and strain of exacting work and turned it into a joyful pursuit;

those writers whose books or articles I read, the lecturers of the School of Oriental and African Studies whose lectures and seminars I attended, those who supplied me with texts, and to my supervisor, Professor Carnochan who urged me on to the deeper ends of my subject.

I thank all these benefactors for the various parts they played. Èkèle dīrī unù.

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## PART I

### CHAP. I            The Language and the People

The language described is the Igbo language, and the indigenous speakers of it call themselves NDI ÌGBÒ - the people of ìgbò. The language is a tone language in which tones have both lexical and syntactic (or grammatical) functions. It has many dialects, and the speakers of various dialects tend to modify their speech in a mixed gathering in order to achieve mutual intelligibility. The greatest variation in dialects comes in the consonant sounds, which are quite complex in some dialects, but much simpler in some others. The present system of writing the language (referred to as 'Official Orthography', and adopted in 1961 to settle the dispute over the representation of the eight vowels of the majority of the dialects), suffers from over-simplification. In many respects it is lacking in features which are significant in the majority of dialects - such features as aspiration, nasalization and palatalization, and does not represent tones, the latter omission being the most serious of all.

The language is classified as one of the Kwa languages, being in the same family as the following other Nigerian languages: Yoruba, Igala, Nupe, Gbari, Igbira, Gade, Bini, Ishan, Kukuruku, Sobo, Idoma, Agatu, Iyala, and Ijò; and such Ghana languages as Akan, Gã, and Adangme. The area in which it is spoken lies roughly within Latitudes 5 and 7 North of



the Equator and Longitudes 6 and 8 East of Greenwich (see p.545). Thus the language and the people bestride the River Niger, with the greater part east of the river.

In 1972, the estimated population of Nigeria was given as 69,252,709<sup>1</sup>, of which the Igbos were estimated as comprising 18 per cent, like the Yorubas. This makes them 12,465,487.

In the description of the language which follows, no particular descriptive model, transformational or otherwise, is used. The reason for this is that the elements to be dealt with are all surface realizations of various grammatical categories or derivational elements, and adopting any particular model will lead to a very complicated presentation.

The dialect used as a basis is the Òhnyhny dialect of Umùahà. However the dialect has a number of features which are shared by many dialects far beyond its boundaries. It is sometimes called (or included in what is called) the 'Central Dialect'.

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1. Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book 1973, p.503.

CHAP. 2'Tone' in IgboTn.1. The Function of Tone in Igbo

For over a century now, with the publication in 1861 of the first grammar of Igbo, written by J.F. Schon<sup>1</sup>, it has been known that Igbo is a 'tone language'. The first systematic work done on the tones of the language was however that of Dr. Ida C. Ward<sup>2</sup>, who drew attention not only to the lexical, but also to the grammatical function of tones in the language. In their work published in 1963 (though done long before then) M.M. Green and G.E. Igwe<sup>3</sup> took Dr. Ward's findings a stage further. Since then, with the advent of transformational approach to language, tones in Igbo have been given a transformational treatment, particularly by Dr. Patricia L. Carrell.<sup>4</sup>

It is not intended in this work to go over the grounds again, but to draw attention to certain aspects of the grammatical uses of tones which have either been glossed over, neglected, or misunderstood. This is particularly necessary in view of the transformational approach to Igbo

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1. Rev. J.F. Schon: 'Oku Ibo, Grammatical Elements of the Ibo Language'. (London 1861).
  2. Ida C. Ward: An Introduction to the Ibo Language. (1936).
  3. Green and Igwe: A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo. (1963).
  4. Patricia L. Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igbo (West African Language Monographs, 8; (1970)).

which relegates tone to the phonological component of the grammar.

The tonal system of Igbo is the terrace-tone type. Lexically, there are two basic tones, high-tone and low-tone, and each syllable of a word can have either one or the other. The mid-tone or 'step-down' tone is not a basic or phonological tone: for when a word has a mid-tone in it, that word is composite. (Something more is said about this later below).

In syntax, however, some pitch features<sup>5</sup> are added to the high- and low-tones. These are: (a) high-falling, (b) low-rising, (c) higher reference-level, and (d) lower reference-level. And in both morphology and syntax another type of tone is involved - (e) mid-tone (or 'step-down tone'). Each of these will be briefly discussed.

These tones are represented as follows here:

- (a)    \        low-tone
- (b)    -        mid-tone
- (c)    ^        high-falling tone
- (d)    v        low-rising tone
- (e)    -^       mid and high-falling tone
- (f)    A syllable not marked is high (if preceded by \  
          or by -        , with which it shares the same  
          level, or high by itself or following a  
          high.)
- (g)    /        for higher reference-level

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5. J. Carnochan: 'Pitch, Tone and Intonation in Igbo', proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, pp. 547-54, Helsinki 1961. -10

(h) for lower reference-level

### Tn.1.1. High-falling pitch

The high-falling pitch (in combination with other tone types) distinguishes clause types (see pp. 484 ). It occurs in the following types of clauses:

- (i) Declarative Form I; (ii) Complex Clause Type I; and (iii) Subjunctive Clause II.

(i) Declarative Form I: The high-falling pitch occurs in this clause type if the subject has a final syllable with a high tone. This contrasts with its absence in an Imperative clause with identical elements. Contrast (a) and (b) of (1).

(1) (a) /òbî/ vù abò. 'Òbi is carrying a basket.' (Declarative)

(b) /òbi/ vù ab̄. 'Let Òbi carry a basket.' (Imperative)

(ii) Complex Clause Type I: The high-falling pitch of the final syllable of the Complex Clause Type I, when such a syllable is high, distinguishes the clause from a sequence of Independent clauses. (a) and (b) of (2) illustrate these types of clauses, respectively.

(2) (a) ọ nà àgà ahyā àzù yā . 'He goes to the market and buys it.'

(b) ọ nà àgà ahyā, àzù yā. 'He goes to the market, and he buys it.'

In (b) the second clause has a higher reference-level than the preceding one which ends with ahyā: and there is a pause after the end of the first clause before the second one can be said.

(iii) Subjunctive Clause II: The high-falling pitch occurs in the subjunctive II clause if the subject is a mono-phonemic pronoun (M 'I', O/O 'He', I/I 'You (sg.)', E/A 'Indefinite' 3rd Pers.) and distinguishes it from the Declarative I with identical elements. Consider (a) and (b) of (3).

(3) (a) /ô/ hnù gi, nòdì ebe à. 'In case he should see you, stay here.'

(b) /ô/ hnù gi. Nòdì ebè a. 'He must see you. Stay here.'

#### Tn.1.2. Low-rising pitch

The low-rising pitch occurs when the final syllable of the subject of the clause has a low tone, and the clause is a Relative Clause Type I or Type II, or the Complement in a predication, as in (3) (b). In the Relative Clause Type I, the low-rising pitch makes possible the tone-relationship that should exist between the subject and the verb-phrase; and in all three types of clause it indicates that the clause with the low-rising subject is not an independent clause. Often, however, the low-rising pitch is converted into a straightforward mid-tone, as the bracketed words show in (1) - (3).

In the following examples, (1) is a Relative Clause I; (2) a Relative Clause II; and (3) (b) a clause in which the base clause has been transformed into a Complement through transposition and predication. The relevant words are enclosed in //.

- (1) /Ọjhǐ (Ọjhǐ̃)/ zūrù yā.... 'Ọjhǐ who bought it...'  
 (2) mgbè /Ọjhǐ̃ (Ọjhǐ̃)/ zūrù ya... 'When Ọjhǐ̃ bought it...'  
 ('The time Ọjhǐ̃ ....')  
 (3) (a) Ọjhǐ̃ zūrù ya. 'Ọjhǐ̃ bought it.'  
 (b) Ọ wū ya kà/Ọjhǐ̃̃ (Ọjhǐ̃̃)/ zūrù. 'It was it that Ọjhǐ̃̃ bought'.

### Tn.1.3. Higher and Lower Reference-level<sup>1</sup>

Higher and lower reference-level pitches occur when clauses in succession are independent of each other. Thus they distinguish this sequence of clauses from other sequences in which there is cohesion between what precedes and what follows. The higher reference-level pitch occurs when the following clause begins with a high-tone syllable, and the lower reference-level occurs when the following clause begins with a low-tone syllable.

The term 'reference-level' is used to indicate that the significant difference between the preceding and the following clauses lies in their reference-levels, the initial higher or lower pitch indicating the level at which the subsequent clause begins. The notation used here is adopted from the works of Green and Igwe, as far as the higher level is concerned; the lower level is being mentioned for the first time. The notation mark is placed before the first syllable of the

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1. cf. Green and Igwe, op. cit. p.111 'higher than high'.

subsequent clause: /ˊ/ for higher, and /ˋ/ for lower.

Between the independent clauses, there is always a pause of relative duration, whereas between the clauses that have some cohesion, there is no such pause. The pause is indicated by comma.

In the examples, (a) contains independent clauses, while (b) contains cohesive clauses.

(1) (a) Ọ gàrà ahya, ˊzuọ jĩ. 'He went to the market, and bought yams too.'

(b) Ọ gàrà ahya zuọ jĩ. 'He went to the market and bought yams.' (i.e. the purpose or result of his going to the market was the buying of yams.)

(2) (a) Ọ gàrà n'ahya, ˋzuò ikhē. 'He went to the market, and he rested too.'

(b) Ọ gàrà n'ahya zuò ikhē. 'He went to the market and rested.'

#### Tn.1.4. The mid-tone.

Whereas there are monosyllabic words with low-tones, and others with high-tones, there is no monosyllabic word with a mid-tone. Examples of low-tone and high-tone words are (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) (a) nà 'and'; (b) mà 'and', 'but'; (c) kà 'that';

(d) tà 'bite'.

- (2) (a) ya 'he'; (b) mu 'I'; (c) ji 'yam'; (d) di 'husband';  
 (e) wu 'is'.

Furthermore, whereas the low-tone or the high-tone can begin a word in isolation, as in (3) and (4), the mid-tone cannot.

- (3) (a) ùbhe 'pear'; (b) òbu 'hall'; (c) ògbè 'time'.

- (4) (a) okwu 'word'; (b) uzò 'way'.

It follows therefore that the mid-tone is not a basic and lexical tone, like the ones considered above. In fact its function lies in the area of morphology and syntax; but while the fact has been recognized at the syntactical level, it has not been fully recognized on the morphological. The function of the mid-tone at both the morphological and syntactic levels will now be summarily stated and illustrated.

#### Tn.1.4.1. Morphological function of the mid-tone.

The occurrence of the mid-tone in a lexical item indicates that the item is composite, made up of more than one element. This is not to say that only items in which a mid-tone occurs may be composite. What is meant is that the fact of compositeness may be overtly indicated by the presence of a mid-tone.

For the tone to be present, the syllable on which it occurs must be preceded by one that has a high-tone.

It occurs in the following classes of words:

- (1) The Infinitive of class I and class III verbs, as in (1) and (2) respectively, in which the vowel i-/i- is prefixed to



the verb stem.

(1) (a) imē 'to do'; (b) iḡā 'to go'; (c) ilē 'to look'.

(2) (a) iznūznū 'to behave foolishly'; (b) ifūfà 'to force in'.

(ii) Nouns derived from class I verbs by prefixation and suffixation. In some instances the mid-tone occurs on the suffix, and in some others on the verb base, as in (6) to (8).

(3) ag'uṓ 'hunger' (iḡ'ū 'to desire/be desired')

(4) ɔbarā 'plentifulness' (ibā 'to increase')

(5) ebherē 'slice' (ibhē 'to slice')

(6) mbhōro 'roof beam' (ibhō 'to put (a load) on')

(7) nchāra 'reddish-brown earth' (ichā 'to have colour')

(8) mbēle 'excessive crying' (ibē 'to cry')

(9) àgam 'the fact of going' (iḡā 'to go')

(10) èmeṁ 'the fact of doing' (imē 'to do')

(iii) Adjectives

(11) oḡoḡ 'bad' (ijṓ 'to be bad')

(12) ojiē 'black' (ijī 'to be/become black')

(13) ohnūṓ 'new' (? ihnū 'to see')

(14) okpṓ 'dry/hard' (ikpṓ 'to dry hard')

(iv) Interrogatives

(15) òleē 'which'; 'where is?' (ilē 'to look')

(16) ṇdiī 'which'; 'where is?' (idī 'to be at/in')

(17) àghā 'how?' (ighā 'to change')

(v) Quantifiers

(18) niīle 'all'

(19) naāni 'only/sole'

In all these examples the mid-tone indicates that the element with the mid-tone has a close relationship, or is in construction with the preceding elements. This applies too to its occurrences in syntactic constructions, as shown below.

Tn.1.4.2. Syntactic functions of the mid-tone

In verbal and nominal clauses, the place where the mid-tone occurs is as important as its occurrence or non-occurrence. Its place of occurrence in verbal clauses distinguishes one clause type from another, and its place of occurrence in a nominal clause gives a different grammatical meaning to the same nominal clause. In the illustrations to be given the items used are restricted to high-high nouns and class I verbs.

(i) Its occurrence on the second syllable of the object of an Imperative clause, and its absence from the same object in a Declarative I clause, help to distinguish both clause types, as in (1).

(1) (a) Òbí vù/abò/. (Decl.) 'Òbi is carrying a basket.'

(b) Òbi vù /abō/. (Imp.) 'Let Òbi carry a basket.'

(ii) Its occurrence both on the prefix of the verb and on the second syllable of the object in a Declarative II clause, and its occurrence only on the prefix in the Declarative III clause, contrast the two clause types, as in (2).

(2) (a) Òbi/ēvuole abō/. 'Obi has carried the basket.'

(b) Òbi/ēvuole abò/. 'Obi should have carried the basket.'

(iii) Its occurrence both on the verb and the object in a

relativized Declarative I and Declarative II, distinguishes these two types of Relative clause from their Independent counterparts, as in (3) and (4), where (b) is the Relative Clause in each case.

(3) (a) Òbî/vù abò/. 'Òbi is carrying a basket.'

(b) Òbi/vū abō/... 'Òbi who is carrying a basket...'

(4) (a) Òbi ēvu abō. 'Òbi should have carried a basket.'

(b) Òbi/ēvu abō/ 'Obi who should have carried a basket....'

(iv) In a noun-phrase composed of Noun HH<sub>1</sub> + Noun HH<sub>2</sub>, the second noun in the phrase may have the meaning of (a) a defining genitive; (b) a possessive genitive; or, (c) the phrase may be just a compound noun, if the mid-tone occurs on the final syllable of the second noun. Much depends on the types of nouns in the phrase. Consider the following examples.

(5) eg'o nnū 'money for salt'; 'salt money'; 'salt's money'.

(6) egwu ɔnwā 'moon dance'; 'dance in moonlight'; 'the dance of the moon'.

But if the mid-tone occurs on the first syllable of the second noun, then that noun must have specified for it (+POSSESSIVE, +HUMAN (or PERSON)). Thus we get

(7) (a) isi ēkwe 'Mr. Ekwe's head.'

(b) anya ēghu 'Mr. Eghu's (Goat's) eye.'

(Some linguists<sup>1</sup> have refused to admit the fact of personification

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1. Voorhoeve, Meeussen, de Blois: Journal of West African Languages, Vo. VI, 2, 1969, p.79.

in this occurrence of the mid-tone, but have not provided any satisfactory alternative interpretation.)

(v) When the noun-phrase is Noun HH<sub>1</sub> + Noun HH<sub>1</sub>, if the mid-tone falls on the second syllable of the second noun, the phrase has a comparative sense 'the X of X's', as in (8).

(8) (a) egwu egwū 'the dance of dances' (i.e. a great dance)

(b) anụ anū 'the meat of meat' (i.e. very tasty meat)

(vi) If the mid-tone falls on the first syllable of the second occurrence of the same noun, the phrase indicates plurality, as in (9).

(9) (a) egwu ēghu 'plenty of goats'; 'goat upon goat'

(b) ọsọ ọsū 'quickly'; ('run upon run')

(c) akwukwọ ākwukwọ 'plenty of books'

(vii) In a limited number of prepositional phrases in which the nouns of the HH tone type, these nouns take a mid-tone on their second syllables, behaving as though the preposition was another noun. Examples of such phrases are:

(10) (a) n'anwū 'in the sun'; (b) n'unwū 'during a famine';

(c) n'elū 'on high', 'above'

(viii) The mid-tone distinguishes a negative verb form from a positive one, as in (11) (b).

(11) (a) ̀obi/āgala/ahyā. '̀Obi has gone to the market.'

(b) ̀obi/agāla/ahya. 'Obi never went to the market.'

In view of the varied functions of the mid-tone in the language, and the different places in which it can occur in

verbal and nominal constructions, it is questionable therefore whether the existence or otherwise of any class of words can be made to be dependent on the occurrence or non-occurrence of the tone.

(See 'Adjectives' DA.4.1, p.428)

Tn.1.4.3. The use of tone alternation for emphasis

The use of tones for emphasis is dealt with in Em.2.

Tn.2. Toneme-perturbation<sup>1</sup>

Toneme-perturbation is a frequent phenomenon in Igbo. By its operation a syllable that would otherwise have a low-tone or a high-tone is made to have a high-tone or low-tone, respectively. It is morphologically motivated in verb structures, and syntactically motivated in noun-phrases and verb-phrases.

If in a verb a syllable with a low-tone is followed by another syllable which belongs to the class of class II items (that is low-tone items) the preceding syllable is forced up, and this in turn affects earlier syllables, if they are present (as in (2) (b)). In (1) (a) the verb is a class I verb, in (b) it is a class II, and in (c) both types of verb are combined in the same clause type and the class I verb loses its low-tone.

(1) (a) Ezè/nyèrè/abọ. 'Ezè gave a basket.'

(b) Ezè/fèrè/abọ. 'Ezè passed the basket.'

(c) Ezè/nyefèrè/abọ. 'Ezè handed across the basket.'

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1. Kenneth L. Pike: Tone Languages, p.25.

In (2) (a) a class II verb alone occurs, and in (b) two of them occur, the second perturbing the first.

(2) (a) òbì/èlùòlè/yā. 'Òbì has thrown it.'

(b) òbì/ēludhàlā/yā. 'Òbì has thrown it down.'

In a noun-phrase if the second noun has LH or LL tones and the first one has a final low-tone, toneme-perturbation occurs in the first noun, as in (3). In a verb-phrase of a clause requiring a syntactic tone-change in the object or complement, if the object has a LH or LL tones and the verb ends with a low-tone, the same result occurs, as in the noun-phrase, as shown in (4).

(3) (a) òpì + àchàrà → òpì àchàrà 'flute'

(b) og'è + òzọ → og'ē òzọ 'another time'

(4) (a) ọ nà/azà + èzi/ → ọ nà/azā ēzi/ 'She is sweeping the yard.'

(b) ọ nà/azà + àlà/ → ọ nà/azā àlà/ 'She is sweeping the floor.'

### Tn.3. Tone assimilation

Dr. Ward describes tone assimilation in Igbo as follows: "The many levels of pitch of an Igbo sentence may be explained as the result of tone assimilation."<sup>1</sup> However, what she calls tone assimilation is more aptly described by Dr. Elizabeth Dunstan as 'downdrift': 'Igbo has a downdrift type of intonation.'

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1. Ward: op. cit. p.14.

This means that a high tone after a low tone is not as high as the high tone which preceded the low tone."<sup>1</sup>

Complete tone assimilation does take place sometimes in the language. This happens in two types of construction, one morphological, and the other syntactic. The morphologically created assimilation causes a non-initial class I (high tone) element to take a low tone like a class II element which follows it. It occurs in a compound-complex verb form (see p.44 below), where a non-initial class II element in the verb pulls down every syllable that intervenes between it and the initial verb root. In such a structure the initial syllable is perturbed while succeeding syllables are tonally assimilated, as in (1) (a) and (b). Tone assimilation takes place also in the infinitive verb form when a class I element following a class II takes a low-tone, as in (1) (c) and (d).

- (1) (a) M wetàfùò? 'Shall I bring some more?'  
 (b) Hna garùzifùò? 'Are they to get closer still?'  
 (c) iwètà 'to bring to'  
 (d) imēzùchàsì 'to do the whole lot completely'

Syntactically based tone assimilation occurs when a monosyllabic final <sup>suffix</sup>~~syllable~~ that should have a mid-tone from a preceding syllable takes the same level as the preceding syllable, as in (b) of the following examples.

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1. Elizabeth Dunstan: 'Twelve Nigerian Languages', p.92 (1969)

- (2) (a) Ọ zūọla/ehyni wā/ 'He has bought the cow.'  
 (b) Ọ zūọla/ehynī wa/ 'He has bought the cow.'
- (3) (a) Àdha āhnụla/nwa yā/ 'Àdha has found her child.'  
 (b) Àdha āhnụla/nwā yà/ 'Àdha has found her child.'
- (4) (a) Anyị/āhnughị gị/... 'We who didn't see you...'  
 (b) Anyị/āhnughī gī/... 'We who didn't see you...'

Tone assimilation, if not taken due notice of can lead to some error in grammatical analysis.



## CHAP. 3

Vowels and ConsonantsVac.1. Number and harmony of vowels<sup>1</sup>

As a result of Dr. Ward's investigations it was discovered that Igbo has a system of eight vowels for the majority of dialects. But there are some, particularly among the Western Igbo dialects, which have nine vowels, for example Ukwaaàlì. (In the dialects which have eight vowels, the vowel /e/ has two allophones (e) and (ẹ). They are differently distributed in some dialects. In Òhnnhnn (Òhũhũ), (e) occurs initially and before /i/ and /u/; in Ònnùchà (Ònitsha), (e) occurs initially and before /i/, /o/, or /u/; (ẹ) occurs everywhere else in both dialects. In the dialects that have nine vowels, /e/ and /ẹ/ constitute phonemes.

In the dialect of Ìthènn, in Bèndè Division, /a/ has two allophones: (ẹ) in initial positions and (a) elsewhere.)

Whether with eight or with nine vowels, the dialects observe a system of vowel harmony. This has been widely recognized, and has been given prosodic treatment by Professor Carnochan<sup>2</sup> in his article, 'Vowel Harmony in Igbo'.

When eight vowels are involved, the harmony is as follows:

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1. IdaC. Ward: op.cit. pp.1-7; E.Dunstan: op.cit. pp.89-90; Green and Igwe: op.cit, pp.1-2; Robert G. Armstrong: 'A Comparative Wordlist of Five Igbo Dialects', Occasional Publications No.5, University of Ibadan, 1967; Kay Williamson, The Journal of West African Languages, Vol.3, No.2, pp.67-69.

2. African Languages Studies I, 1960, pp.155-163 (SOAS).

		Front		Back
Close	1	i		u 5
	2	ĩ		ũ 6
Open	3	e		o 7
	4	a		õ 8

When there are nine vowels the system of harmony is:

<u>Set 1</u>	<u>Set 2</u>
i u	ĩ ũ
e o	ẽ õ
a	ã

The odd number vowels occur with each other, and the even number vowels occur with each other in polysyllabic morphemes. Vowel harmony often operates across morpheme boundaries. But it is limited mostly to derivational prefixes, and suffixes to verbs, as in (1), where the prefixes i-/ĩ-, e-/a-, u-/ũ-, and o-/õ- harmonize with the following verb root. Similarly, the mono-phonemic second and third person pronouns, as subjects, harmonize with the following verb, as in (2).

(1) (a) imē 'to do'; (b) imā 'to know'; (c) emē 'not to do'; (d) amā 'not to know'; (e) ome 'doer'; (f) õma 'knower'; (g) ũme 'disaster'; (h) ũma 'knowing'.

(2) (a) /õ mā/ya. 'He knows it.'  
 (b) /õ mē/ya. 'He is doing it.'  
 (c) /ĩ mā/ya. 'You know it.'

(d) /I mè/ya. 'You are doing it.'

(e) /A mǎ/ya. 'It must be known.'

(f) /E mè/ya. 'One is doing it.'

With suffixes, the situation varies in the following ways: (i) some do not harmonize their vowels with preceding ones, as -ni in (3); (ii) some others harmonize, as -ghi in (4); (iii) some still harmonize only when preceded by some vowel types, as -ta in (5); (iv) some others are not merely harmonized but completely assimilated to the preceding vowel, as -ra in (6).

(3) (a) /Mèni/yā. 'Do it, then.'

(b) /Byāni/ebe à. 'Come here, then.'

(4) (a) Ò/meghī/ya. 'He didn't do it, I insist.'

(b) Ò/byaghī/. 'He didn't come, I insist.'

(5) (a) ivūte 'to carry to'

(b) irīte 'to acquire as profit'

(c) ig'ōta 'to buy'

(d) ilūta 'to marry to'

(-ta harmonizes only when preceded by any vowel except /e/ and /o/)

(6) (a) Ọ/gàrà/ahya. 'He went to the market.' (He went market)

(b) Ọ/mèrè/ọrny. 'He did some work.' (He worked work)

(c) Ọ/cìrì/ọcì. 'He laughed (a laugh).'

In considering suffixes later, the following symbolization is used to cover the fact of vowel harmony: -A/E represents complete assimilation, -A representing the vowels a, i, u and ọ,

and -E representing e, i, u and o (as in -rA/E). -A alone represents harmonizing to either -a, or -e; -I represents either -i or -ĩ; and -A/O means either -a/ -e or -o/-ō.

#### Vac.2. Vowel Elision

Vowel elision is another phenomenon that occurs in Igbo. It has not been much discussed. In 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo' it is merely mentioned. It operates between morphemes, where the final vowel of the preceding morpheme may be affected by or affect the initial vowel of a following morpheme. It works as follows:

(i) When the close vowel i/ĩ or u/ū occurs as the final vowel in a morpheme, no elision takes place between it and the initial vowel of the next morpheme whatever type the latter may be, (as in (1)).

- (1) (a) isi ɔrnũ 'the beginning of the farm'
- (b) ùdĩ elē 'the appearance of the deer'
- (c) egwu ɔnwā 'moon dance'
- (d) ɔrnũ ochiè 'old piece of work'
- (e) egwu aghā 'war dance/music'
- (f) ùdĩ ùdèlè 'the appearance of a vulture'
- (g) egwu ikhē 'energetic dance'

(ii) If the first morpheme has a final open vowel, elision takes place, such that the open vowel is displaced by a close vowel, as in (2).

- (2) (a) Onyē isĩ /onyiisĩ/ 'head-man'

(b)	onye ukwu	/onyuukwu/	'a great man'
(c)	àla ìwa	/àliìwa/	'cassava-land'
(d)	anya ūfụ	/anyuūfụ/	'envy'
(e)	oco ikpē	/ociikpē/	'judgement seat'
(f)	ulò ukwu	/ulùukwu/	'a big house'

(iii) Among open vowels only, the one which occurs first (that is, in final position in the first morpheme) is elided by the next.

(3) (a)	onye akwà	/onyaakwà/	'cloth-dealer'
(b)	onye oma	/onyōoma/	'a good person'
(c)	onye òle?	/onyōōle?/	'what person?'
(d)	àlà edè	/àlèedè/	'cocoyam land'
(e)	àlà oma	/àlōoma/	'a good land'
(f)	àlà ochiè	/àlòochiè/	'an old piece of land'
(g)	oco elū	/oceelū/	'a high chair'
(h)	oco àlà	/ocaàlà/	'a low chair'
(i)	oco ohnuō	/ocōohnuō/	'a new chair'
(j)	uzò elū	/uzèelū/	'a higher road'
(k)	uzō àlà	/uzāàlà/	'a lower road'
(l)	uzò ohnuō	/uzōohnuō/	'a new road'

Vowel elision often obscures the morphological structure of a word, and may lead to incorrect spelling or the loss of elements from a composite word. For instance agbò+àlà 'lower region', pronounced agbaàlà, is written as agbala (without tones).

Vowel elision is observed in forms derived by the infixation of the assimilated affix -ghA/E, as in (4) and (5).

(4) ure -ghe -ure /ureghuure/ 'filthy'

(5) ulọ -ghọ -ulọ /ulọghuulọ/ 'gummy'

The operation of vowel elision has led to the complete transformation of some items, for instance, the following.

(6) (a) nwa+okhē : nwookhē : /nwokhē/ 'a male person'

(b) di+ikhē : /dikhē/ 'a strong person'

(c) elu+ugwhū : /elugwhū/ (enugù) 'top of the hill'/Enugù

(d) ùsọ+ekwhū : ùseekwhū : /ùsekwhū/ 'kitchen'

Although the examples given in (1) to (5) are of nominals, the phenomenon of elision operates also between other types of words, including Verb+Noun, Particle+Noun, Verb+Verb, etc. In all cases the number of syllables is maintained, except in the case of Particle+Noun where the particle is the preposition na and the following noun has an initial high-tone syllable. Compare (7) (a) with (b).

(7) (a) na+ọhya : /n'ọhya/ 'in the bush.'

(b) na+òbu : /nòòbu/ 'in the hall'

### Vac.3. Consonants

The consonants of the language have been looked at from both the prosodic and the phonemic points of view. The two approaches were exemplified by Elizabeth Dunstan and G.E. Igwe in 'Two Views of the Phonology of the Òhùhù Dialect of Igbo'<sup>1</sup>,

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1. Journal of West African Languages Vol.3, No.2, 1966.

published in 1966. There is also Carnochan's 'A Study of the Phonology of an Igbo Speaker'<sup>1</sup>, based on another dialect of Igbo, and the Wordlist by Armstrong referred to earlier.

The number of consonants one wishes to recognize in Igbo depends upon one's analytic approach and the dialect one is handling. From a phonemic point of view, the situation is stated as follows by Armstrong: "I conclude these remarks by pointing out that in Igbo, as in the other Kwa languages, there is in general no consonant clusters. On the other hand, there are many compound consonants, with quite complex articulations. (These are usually written with digraphs and trigraphs.)..... We see that the Onitsha dialect has less than half as many consonants as any of the three eastern dialects. The figures are: Òlù 64 consonants, Owerri 60 consonants, Òhùhù 55 consonants, Onitsha 28 consonants..."<sup>2</sup>

The problem of consonants is not discussed in this work, which is based on the Òhùhù dialect. The phonology adopted and the system of writing it are those set out in Green and Igwe's 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo'<sup>3</sup>. The only departure from them is in the representation of nasalization by the letter /n/ (as part of the consonant) instead of the tilde /~/

1. BSOAS, Vol xii, Part 2, pp. 418-426, 1948.

2. Op.cit. pp. 3-4.

3. Op.cit. pp. 4-6.

over the consonant, for instance Ỡhnyhny in place of Ỡhỹhỹ.



Mp.1. Duplication, Reduplication, and Triplication

In addition to the processes of Prefixation, Suffixation and Infixation there are three other regular processes by which items can be derived from other items. These are Duplication, Reduplication, and Triplication. Instead of combining the first two under Reduplication, two separate terms are used because two radically different procedures are involved.

Prefixation, Suffixation, and Infixation are not discussed because they are merely additive.

Mp.2. Duplication

As the term implies, the process of duplication repeats twice over a base unit, to derive other units. It is usually applied to nominal forms (derived or underived) to form other nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or to express plurality in the noun concerned. But it is applied also to verb roots with prefixes or suffixes.

In the examples, the tones of the resulting items are not under consideration, though important. Consider the following examples.

- (1) eluēlu 'upwards': North (elu 'top', 'height')
- (2) àlaàlà 'downwards': South (àlà 'ground', 'land')
- (3) ọkhuọkhu 'much fire': 'quickly' (ọkhu 'fire', 'heat')
- (4) madhūmadhù 'plenty of people' (madhù 'person')
- (5) otūòtù 'one-by one' (otù 'one')

- (6) m̀byũmbu 'newly': 'of old' (m̀byu 'first')
- (7) s̀ẽms̀ẽm 'briskly': 'brisk' (is̀ẽ 'to pull/tug'; + -m (suf.))
- (8) gomgom 'clearly': 'clear' (igō 'to sound forth'; + -m (suffix))
- (9) mfemfe 'light': 'easy' (ifē 'to fly/blow'; + m- (pref.))
- (10) nj̀onj̀o 'profuse': (ij̀o 'to rain'; + n- (prefix))

Longer items may be duplicated, including clauses (as in (12)).

- (11) aghalariãghalari 'of many different kinds/sorts' (aghalari 'of different sorts')

- (12) Ọ nà àga /m̀ hnùrù ònye m̀ hnùrù ònye/. 'He goes (walks) proudly ('He goes 'Who 𐄂 did I see? Who did I see?')

Duplication may be contiguous, as in (1) to (12), or dis-contiguous, as in (13), (14), (15) and (16).

- (13) mpe-re-mpe 'rather impaired' (ipē 'to chip'; + -re (suff.))
- (14) nka-ra-nka 'tattered' (ikā 'to tear'; + -ra (suffix))
- (15) any-mā-ànù 'animals' (any 'animal'; +ma (conjunction))
- (16) isi-mī-ìsì 'hither and thither' (isi 'head'; + ma (conj.))

### Mp.3. Reduplication

The process of reduplication is applied to verb roots, and by it various classes of words are derived. Unlike duplication, which makes additions in post-base positions, reduplication makes additions in pre-base positions. The reduplicated form can have as prefix any vowel (according to vowel harmony), or a nasal consonant /N/ which must be

homorganic with the following consonant.

The process operates as follows:

(i) The consonant of the verb root is repeated in its entirety and may have either i/ɪ or u/ʊ as its vowel, and is then followed by the verb root. Which of these two sets of vowels will occur is conditioned as follows.

(ii) If the verb root has the close vowel i/ɪ, the reduplicate syllable will have the same vowel as the root whatever the composition of the consonant of the root.

- (1) ̀òbibi 'living in/at' (ibĩ 'to live in/at')
- (2) ̀òcìcì 'collecting' (ìcĩ 'to collect')
- (3) ̀òznizni 'teaching/showing' (iznĩ 'to teach/show')
- (4) ̀òhyìhyì 'twisting' (ìhyĩ 'to twist')
- (5) ̀òphyìphyì 'sharpening' (ìphyĩ 'to sharpen')
- (6) ̀òhynihyni 'sweeping' (ihynĩ 'to sweep')

(iii) If the verb root has the vowel e/a, the reduplicate syllable will have i/ɪ as vowel provided the root consonant does not contain a labial sound. But if there is a labial sound, then the vowel will be u/ʊ provided no palatal sound co-occurs with it. But if a palatal sound co-occurs with the labial then the vowel of the reduplicate will be i/ɪ, as in (10).

- (7) ̀òlile 'looking' (ilē 'to look')
- (8) ̀òrìre 'selling' (irē 'to sell')
- (9) ̀òjìja 'praising' (ìjā 'to praise')
- (10) ̀òphyìphya 'flogging' (ìphyā 'to flog')

- (11) òbube 'crying' (ibē 'to cry')  
 (12) ògwugwe 'grinding' (igwē 'to grind')  
 (13) òkwhukwha 'wailing' (ikwhā 'to wail')  
 (14) òmume 'doing' (imē 'to do')  
 (15) òwuwa 'sawing' (iwā 'to saw')

(iv) The vowel of the reduplicate syllable is u/ū if the vowel of the verb root is a back vowel, u/ū or o/ō. But if the vowel of the root is o/ō and the consonant of it contains a palatal sound, then the vowel of the reduplicate syllable will be i/ī, as in (21) to (24).

- (16) òg'ug'ū 'reading' (ig'ū 'to read')  
 (17) òjuju 'filling up' (ijū 'to fill up')  
 (18) òkwhukwhū 'hanging' (ikwhū 'to hang')  
 (19) òkùkò 'planting' (ikò 'to dig/plant')  
 (20) òfufo 'plucking' (ifō 'to pluck')  
 (21) ipyīpyò 'to wander about in narrow place' (ipyō 'to pass through narrow gap')  
 (22) ipyīpyò 'to twitter'  
 (23) òryìryò 'bending' (iryò 'to bend')  
 (24) òryīryò 'begging' (iryō 'to beg')

The following items with palatal consonants plus o/ō in the verb root may have either i/ī or u/ū in the reduplicate syllable.

- (25) òcico/òcuco 'growing' (icō 'to grow')  
 (26) òjìjò/òjùjò 'raining' (ijò 'to rain')

- (27) òjìjò/òjùjò 'planting' (ìjò 'to plant')  
 (28) òyiyo/òyuyo 'swallowing' (iyò 'to swallow')  
 (29) ònyínyò/ònyùnyò 'peeping' (inyò 'to peep')

In (30) the fact of the occurrence of other prefixes than o/o is illustrated.

- (30) (a) ekwùkwu 'talkativeness' (b) mfufe 'a fan'  
 (c) ùbìbì 'a ladder' (ibì 'to lean on')  
 (d) ìriri 'eating'

#### Mp.4. Triplification

Triplification in Igbo has two subtypes: one subtype which operates on verb roots, and another which operates on other types of items. Both subtypes have one thing in common which (apart from the triplifying of forms) distinguishes them from duplication. It is this, that they do not admit prefixes in the forms derived.

##### Mp.4.1. Triplification of verb roots

In the triplifying of verb roots (which affects only simple verb roots) the root is repeated thrice. The consonant is the same in each of the three syllables; the vowel of the second and third (and root) syllables are identical, but the vowel of the first syllable alternates (where applicable) exactly as described for reduplication. Consider the following examples.

- (1) byìbyabya 'coming on and on' (ìbyǎ 'to come')  
 (2) cucoco 'growing-up and up' (icō 'to grow up')

- (3) cìcìcì 'laughing on and on' (ìcì 'to laugh')
- (4) kwhukwhekwe 'very tight' (ikwhē 'to tie taut')
- (5) ryìryòryò 'drooping on and on' (iryò 'to bend/nod')
- (6) fufufu 'bursting on and on' (ifū 'to burst/germinate')

The second subtype of triplication has within it two further subtypes. In the first sub-subtype the whole word is repeated thrice, such that the second occurrence has low tones and the first and third have high tones. The triplicated form may be derived from verb stems or other types of items, as in the following examples.

- (7) gobi gòbì gobi 'in an elegant/stately manner' (igöbi 'to be tall and straight')
- (8) kwedu kwèdù kwedu 'undeviatingly' (ikwēdu 'to go without deviating from path')
- (9) com còm com 'with imposing gait' (icō 'to grow up')
- (10) kpum kpùm kpum 'with thuds'
- (11) wuruwuru wùrùwùrù wuruwuru 'with much under-cover and secret activity' (iwūru 'to put clothes on')

In the second sub-subtype, the base form is progressively shortened, such that the third repetition consists only of the first syllable of the initial item. The first form usually contains a -rA/E suffix and an -m suffix, and has a four-syllable structure. In tone-structure, it is made up as follows: HLLL-HLL-H.

- (12) faràtàm fatàm fa. 'in a very untidy manner' (ifātà 'to

do in an untidy manner')

(13) kharàtàm khatàm kha 'in a slashing fashion' (ikhà 'to cut sharply; to sharpen')

(14) gbaràdàm gbadàm gba 'in hard-hitting manner' (igbā 'to shoot/sting')

(15) kwhoròtòm kwhotòm kwho 'in fierce wrenching manner' (ikwhò 'to tear off by force')

(16) kporòtòm kpotòm kpo 'in pelting manner'

As will have been observed from the translations, triplication is used to derive adverbial forms. (See also Adverbs, p.468f). And forms derived by the first subtype of the process can also function as adjectives (given as adjectives Form 14 below, p.468f).

Vb.1. The place of the verb in the language<sup>1</sup>

The verb occupies a very central place in the grammar of the language. It is not only that it stands between the subject and the object/complement in a simple sentence (because Igbo, in terms of basic order typology, is a Subject-Verb-Object language<sup>2</sup>), it is also the word class from which other word classes are derived (such as Nouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs). In addition, it is the point in a clause at which several elements which realize various grammatical categories are localized. The derivational possibilities of the verb and its grammatical centrality will be abundantly demonstrated in the parts of this work dealing with affixes.

Vb.2. Classes of verb roots

Until now only two classes of verbs have been recognized. They are distinguished as High Tone and Low Tone. Here the suggestion of Professor Carnochan of Class I and Class II is adopted. But the further suggestion<sup>3</sup> of sub-categorizing the classes into Class Ia, Class Ib, Class IIa and Class IIb, on the basis of the occurrence or non-occurrence of the vowel

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1. cf. John Lyons: Towards a 'notional' theory of the 'parts of speech' - JL. Vol.3, No.1, 1967 pp. 218, 231f.
  2. J.H. Greenberg: Universals of Language, pp. 73-113.
  3. 'Word Classes' p.8ff.



suffix -A/O is not accepted because that vowel can occur with any verb of the language.

A third class of verbs is recognized here. It differs morphologically and tonally from both Class I and Class II. It is called Class III. It has two sub-classes: the first has a reduplicated stem, and the other is composed, sometimes inseparably, of a root plus a lexical suffix. Whereas the infinitive forms of Class I and II have HM and HL tones, respectively, that of Class III has HML tones. Consider these examples.

- (1) inyē 'to give' (Class I)
- (2) ifù 'to go out' (Class II)
- (3) (a) itūtù 'to pick up several things' (Class III)
- (b) ikōbò 'to look seemingly substantial' (Class III)

### Vb.3. The structure of verbs

A verb-structure may be of the following types:

- (i) Simplex - consisting of a single verb root as in (1).
- (1) 0 /jì/ eg'o. 'He has money.'
- (ii) Complex - consisting of a root and affixes (prefix/suffix).
- (2) (a) 0 /gàrà/ ɔrnɔ. 'He went to work.'
- (b) Anyì /àgala/ ɔrnū. 'We've gone to work.'
- (iii) Compound - consisting of more than one root.
- (3) (a) Anyì /znidhà/ ivū? 'Shall we put down the load?'
- (b) Unù /gàru/ ngwàngwà. 'Get there quickly.'
- (iv) Compound-Complex - consisting of ((root+(root)+affix)+

(root+affix)) (i.e. a compound of separately suffixed stems).

(4) (a) Anyị́ /èwebhàtàfùola/ eg'ō. 'We have brought in some more money.'

(b) Unù /natàzùo/ ūtụ. 'Make a complete collection of the levies, you people.'

(v) Complex-Compound - consisting of a compound stem with affixes. (i.e. the verb roots are first compounded before the addition of suffixes).

(5) (a) /Znidhàta/ abō n'àlà. 'Put the basket on the ground here.'

(b) /Anyị́ /èwebhàjuwerele/ unù hna. 'We have taken all of them in for you people.'

In the examples the verb roots are underlined, the affixes are not.

VC.1. The structure of verbal clauses

The role of affixation in the grammar of Igbo will be discussed in the context of the verbal clause for a number of the affixes. Therefore it is necessary to give the major clause types which exist in the language. But this will be a summary account because the types have been exhaustively described by Green and Igwe in 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo' and other publications by them. However, the assumptions and the procedure evident in those publications are different from the ones adopted in this work. In them such categories as Mood, Tense, Aspect, etc., were studied<sup>ous</sup>ly avoided, and the affixes, here regarded as grammatical, were taken as semantic elements. Consequently it was not realized how the convergence of the various grammatical categories in a clause determined the form it took. The works, however, constitute a step forward in the study of Igbo from where Dr. Ward left off, and they are exceptional in the handling of the complicated tonal systems of the language, making it quite unnecessary to repeat here. What is done in this chapter is to systematize the clause types of the language, and in doing so, contrastive tone patterns and other distinguishing features are briefly stated.

In terms of structure, there are two types of verbal clauses in Igbo, and they are distinguished as (a) SIMPLEX CLAUSE, and (b) COMPLEX CLAUSE. Each type has INDEPENDENT

and DEPENDENT types. Thus we get INDEPENDENT SIMPLEX CLAUSE, and DEPENDENT SIMPLEX CLAUSE; INDEPENDENT COMPLEX CLAUSE, and DEPENDENT COMPLEX CLAUSE.

A Simplex Clause is defined as a Verbal Clause containing one verb structure only, while a Complex Clause is one which contains more than one verb structure. These are illustrated by (a) and (b), respectively, of (1).

(1) (a) ɔ /byàrùtèrè/ eci. 'He arrived yesterday.'

(b) ɔ /gà àbyarute/ ecī. 'He'll arrive tomorrow.'

The rest of this chapter is given to brief descriptions of Simplex and Complex Independent Clauses.

## VC.2. Independent Simplex Clauses

On the criterion of Mood<sup>1</sup> (which is realized in the language by the organization of the elements, the form of the verb, and the tonal relationships between the elements), three major Mood Clauses are recognized as follows: (i) Indicative or Declarative; (ii) Imperative; and (iii) Interrogative.

The Declarative has four sub-types within it:

- (a) Declarative Form I (Assertive)
- (b) Declarative Form II (Narrative)
- (c) Declarative Form III (Commentative)
- (d) Declarative Form IV (Exclamative)

1. Cf. John Lyons: 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, p. 307f.

M.A.K. Halliday: 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English', Part 2 - JL 3, 1967, p.199.

The Imperative has two sub-types:

- (a) Imperative I (Ordinary); (b) Imperative II (Insistence)

All these clause types have different forms for the expression of the Positive Polarity, but use the same form for the expression of the Negative Polarity. Consequently a NEGATIVE CLAUSE type is separately recognized and described, instead of giving a positive and a negative form of a particular mood clause.

VC.3. Declarative Form I (Assertive), Positive

The characteristics of this clause type are as follows:

- (i) the verb lacks a prefix; (ii) Class I and Class II verbs take low tones; (iii) the subject takes a high-falling tone if the final syllable is high; (iv) monophonemic pronouns (M, I/I, O/O, E/A), as subjects, retain their tones, as in (2); (v) the object does not undergo tonal change. In example (1), (a) has a Class I, (b) a Class II, and (c) a Class III verb, and the objects are HH nouns.

(1) (a) Ezè/Òbî gàrà ọ́rụ. 'Ezè/Òbî went to work'.

(b) Ezè gwùrù egwu. 'Ezè played a game.'

(c) Ezè tụtùrù ọ́jì. 'Ezè picked up the kola nuts!'

(2) M/I/O/A gàrà ahya. 'I/You/He/One went to the market.'

(3) Anyị/Unù/Hnâ gàrà ahya. 'We/You/They went to the market.'

Although suffixes are included in the structure of the verbs in the clauses above, and will be included in later ones, they are not obligatory elements in any clause type,

except in the class of Class III verbs where the suffixes are integral parts of such verbs. But their presence, or absence, adds to or subtracts from the clause a grammatical category, thus altering its meaning accordingly.

VC.4. Declaration Form II (Narrative), Positive.

The characteristics of the clause are as follows:

- (i) The verb takes a prefix e-/a-, unless the subject is a monophonemic pronoun;
- (ii) the subject retains its tones;
- (iii) a change of tones is required in the object or complement, but this affects only nominals with H, HH, or LH lexical tones;
- (iv) if the subject is a noun or a polyphonemic pronoun and has a final high tone, Class I and Class III verbs have a mid-tone relationship with it, Class II verbs take low tones; but if the subject has a low tone finally, the prefix of Class I or Class III verb takes a low tone while that of a Class II verb takes a high tone;
- (v) when the subject is a monophonemic pronoun the tone-relationship of subject and verb is as in (iv) minus the prefix. Only a Class I verb is used in the illustrations below.

- (1) (a) Òbi āgalā ahyā. 'Òbi has gone to the market.'
- (b) Ezè àgala ahyā. 'Ezè has gone to the market.'
- (c) Ọ gāla ahyā. 'He has gone to the market.'
- (d) Hna āgala ahyā. 'They have gone to the market.'
- (e) Anyị àgala ahyā. 'We have gone to the market.'

VC.5. Declarative Form III (Commentative), Positive

The Declarative Form III is in every respect like the Declarative Form II, except in not requiring a tone change in object or complement. Compare VC.4 (1) with (1) below.

- (1) (a) Òbi āgala ahyā. 'Òbi should/would have gone to the market.'
- (b) Ezè āgala ahyā. 'Ezè should have gone to the market.'
- (c) Ọ gāla ahyā. 'He should/would have gone to the market.'
- (d) Hna āgala ahyā. 'They should have gone to the market.'
- (e) Anyị āgala ahyā. 'We should have gone to the market.'

VC.6. Declarative Form IV (Exclamative)<sup>1</sup>

The difference between Declarative Form IV and Form II lies only in the additional element which the former has to take, the comparative verb ikā 'to be more than'. It is this element which distinguishes the Exclamative from the Narrative Clause. The term 'Exclamative' is not to be confused with 'exclamatory'. For any clause type can be 'exclamatory' by being uttered on a higher pitch than ordinary, or with greater loudness, and this applies too to the Exclamative Clause. The Exclamative Clause often does not take a suffix, and when it does it is only the perfective -lA. Consider the following examples.

- (1) (a) Òbi āgaka ahyā. 'Òbi goes to the market so often.'

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1. cf. Rodney D. Huddleston: The Sentence in Written English, pp. 46-49.

- (b) Ezè àgaka ahyā. 'Ezè goes to the market so often.'
- (c) Ọ gāka ahyā. 'He goes to the market so often.'
- (2) (a) Ọ mēzikala unū. 'He has treated you people so well.'
- (b) Hna ābyakala ọrnū. 'They have done so well to have come to work.'

VC.7. The Imperative I (Ordinary), Positive

The facts about the Imperative I are as follows:

- (i) The subject is expressed for the first person, the third person, and the second person plural. The second person singular subject is expressed only when emphatic. (ii) Class I and Class II verbs have low tones, while Class III verbs have high-low tones; (iii) the verb does not take a prefix; (iv) the clause requires a tone change in the object/complement exactly in the same way as Declarative II/IV.

In meaning, the first person Imperative has the force of a question, and is so understood always. The third person Imperative can have this sense too. Usually, however, the full Interrogative construction is used to avoid any ambiguity. See VC.9. below. The verbs imē (Class I) and izà (Class II) are used in the illustrations.

- (1) (a) M/Anyị mè ọrnū? 'Am I/Are we to get on doing the work?'
- (b) Mè ọrnū. 'Get on doing the work.'
- (c) Unū mè ọrnū. 'Get on doing the work, you people.'
- (d) Gị mè ọrnū. 'Get on doing the work, you (sg., emph.)'
- (e) Ya/Hna mè ọrnū./? (i) 'Let him/them get on doing the work.'



(ii) 'Is he/Are they to get on doing the work?'

(f) 'O mè ọrnū? 'Is he to get on doing the work?'

(g) Ezè mè ọrnū/? 'Let Ezè get on doing the work.'/'Is Ezè to get on doing the work?'

For a fully expressed interrogative form of (a), (e)-(g), the clauses would be predicated with Ọ wù 'Is it?...' (See Interrogative Clause below.)

(2) (a) M zà amā? 'Am I to get on and sweep the square?'

(b) Zà amā. 'Get on and sweep the square'

(c) Unù zà amā. 'Get on and sweep the square, you people.'

(d) Gị zà amā. 'Get on and sweep the square, you.' (sg., emph.)

(e) Ya zà amā. 'Let him get on and sweep the square.'

(f) Ọ zà amā? 'Is he to get on and sweep the square?'

(g) Ezè zà amā. 'Let Ezè get on and sweep the square.'

The use of 'let' for the third person imperative accommodates Igbo grammar to English; it has no place in Igbo. Nor does the expression of the subject of the Imperative Clause in any way imply, in Igbo grammar, that the element is Vocative, as in the English second person imperative.

#### VC.8. The Imperative II (Insistence)

The Imperative II is characterized by the obligatory occurrence of the 'Insistence' suffix -ghI (See Emphasis, pp. 517f) It might be termed 'Persuasive Imperative'. Its

other features are: (i) Class I and Class II verbs take high tones, and so does the first syllable of Class III verbs; then for Class I verbs other syllables take mid-tones in relation to the first one, and with Class II and Class III verbs following syllables take low-tones. (ii) No tone change takes place in the object. The same applies whether the subject is first, second or third person. So only the second person is illustrated with Class I and Class II verbs only, in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) (a) Meghĩ ọrnụ. 'Get on and do the work, I urge you.'

(b) Unù meghĩ ọrnụ. 'Get on, you people, and do the work, I urge you.'

(2) (a) Zaghi ama. 'Get on and sweep the square, I urge you.'

(b) Unù zaghĩ ama. 'Get on, you people, and sweep the square, I urge you.'

#### VC.9. The Interrogative Construction, Positive

The Interrogative Construction is a rather complex construction in Igbo and has a variety of forms depending upon whether it is disjunctive or non-disjunctive, polar or non-polar, conducive or non-conducive, etc., and whether a whole non-interrogative clause (or merely elements in it) is being interrogated. The simplest form is considered here: the form derived by interrogating a Declarative Form I Clause.

Basic to the structure of every Interrogative clause of any type is the fact (hitherto unrecognized) that it derives

from a predication of the element to be questioned (a single element or a whole clause) by the addition to it of 'ò wù' 'It is', to which then is applied the question tones which turn it into 'ò wù? 'Is it?'. This phrase is often deleted, leaving the shorter forms which have come to be regarded as the whole of the interrogative construction. In the examples it will be enclosed in brackets ( ) to indicate its deletability.

The low tones of 'ò wù' are carried on to the subject of the clause being interrogated, unless somewhere in its structure the subject has HM or HL tones, and is a noun. In addition, the noun subject has an appositional pronoun, agreeing with it in person and number, interposed between it and the verb of the interrogated clause. The pronoun also takes low-tones. If the subject is a pronoun the tone rule applies but no appositional pronoun occurs.

The clause to be interrogated is (1).

- (1) AB zùrù akwùkwò 'AB bought a book' (AB = Noun/Pronoun)
- (2) ('ò wù) òbí ò zùrù akwùkwò? 'Did Òbí buy a book?' ('Is it Òbí he bought book?')
- (3) (a) ('ò wù) ànyị zùrù akwùkwò? 'Did we buy a book?'  
 (b) ('ò wù) ùnù zùrù akwùkwò? 'Did yòu (pl.) buy a book?'  
 (c) ('ò wù) hnà zùrù akwùkwò? 'Did they buy a book?'  
 (d) ('ò wù) m/ì/ò zùrù akwùkwò? 'Did I/You/He buy a book?'

When only elements are questioned, no appositional pronoun can occur, the subjects take their normal tones, and 'ò wù' cannot

be deleted without creating serious ambiguity. A non-subject element is transposed first to an initial position and is linked with the rest of the clause by kà/nà, as in (6).

- (4) Ò wù Òbí zùrù akwukwọ? 'Was it Òbi who bought a book?'
- (5) (a) Ò wù anyị zùrù akwukwọ? 'Was it us who bought a book?'
- (b) Ò wù mụ/gị/yâ zùrù akwukwọ? 'Was it I/you/him who bought a book?'
- (6) Ò wù akwukwọ kà/nà Òbi zùrù? 'Was it a book that Obi bought?'

It is the presence of ò wù that disambiguates an Interrogative Negative Clause from a Non-interrogative one when the subject of both is a pronoun, for they are similar or even identical in tones at this point.

#### VC.10. The Negative Clause

The verb in the Negative Clause takes the prefix e-/a- if the subject is not a monophonemic pronoun. The clause requires a high-mid tone to occur on class I and III verbs, and a high-low tone on class II verbs. This HM or HL tone structure occurs on the prefix and the succeeding syllable when a prefix occurs and has not a low tone. If no prefix occurs, or having occurred has a low tone, the mid-tone or low-tone is carried by the next syllable following the verb root (in the case of class I and class II verbs). But if there is no such syllable, the suffix -ghI is usually brought in to carry the tone, but also adds its particular meaning to

the verb. In emphatic clauses with monophonemic pronouns, the required tone structure is obtained between the subject and the unprefixes and unsuffixes verb root, as in (2), (4). (See also As.5.3., pp 129f ; Emph.4(b), pp.517f). In normal cases all pronouns take low tones and nouns retain their tones. Similarly, objects retain their tones unchanged.

The verbs inwē 'to have' (Cl.I), and izù 'to rest' (Cl.II) are used in the illustrations. The meanings of the clauses are given as though the clauses are Declarative, Negative; but they could also be given imperative interpretations.

- (1) (a) Ànyì/Ùnù/Hnà ènweghī eg'o. 'We/You/They have no money.'
- (b) M/Ì/Ò/ nweghī eg'o. 'I/You have no money.'/He has no money'.
- (c) Òbi enwē(ghì) eg'o. 'Òbi has no money'.
- (d) Ezè enwē(ghì) eg'o. 'Èzè has no money.'
- (2) I/O nwē eg'o. 'You/have no money.' (emph.)  
'He has no money.' (emph.)
- (3) (a) Ànyì/Ùnù/Hnà èzughì ikhe. 'We/You/They did not rest.'
- (b) Ò zughì ikhe. 'He did not rest.'
- (c) Òbi ezù(ghì) ikhe. 'Òbi did not rest.'
- (d) Ezè ezù(ghì) ikhe. 'Ezè did not rest.'
- (4) O zù ikhe. 'He did not rest'. (emph.)

#### VC.10.1. One Negative form for all Positive Forms

Now a demonstration is given of the fact that the various positive clauses have the same negative form.

PositiveNegative(i) Declarative I

Òbí vù abọ. 'Òbi is  
carrying a basket.'

Òbi evū abọ. 'Òbi is not  
carrying a basket.'

(ii) Declarative II

Òbi ēvu abọ. 'Òbi carries  
a basket.'

Òbi evū abọ. 'Òbi doesn't  
carry a basket.'

(iii) Declarative III

Òbi ēvu abọ. 'Òbi should  
carry a basket.'

Òbi evū abọ. 'Òbi should  
not carry a basket.'

(iv) Declarative IV

Òbi ēvuka abọ. 'Òbi carries  
baskets so often.'

Òbi evūka abọ. 'Òbi does not  
carry baskets so often.'

(v) Imperative I

Vù abọ. 'Carry the basket.' Evū abọ. 'Don't carry the  
basket.'

(vi) Imperative II

Vughī abọ. 'Carry the  
basket, I urge you.'

Ì vughī abọ. 'Don't carry  
the basket, I urge you.'

(vii) Interrogative

(Ò wù) Òbí ò vù abọ? 'Is  
Obi carrying a basket?'

(Ò wù) Òbí ò vughī abọ? 'Is  
Obi not carrying a basket?'

VC.11. Independent Complex Verbal Clauses

There are three types of the Complex Clause. They are distinguishable from each other though all three can be found

together in a rather more complex clause. They are termed here (A) Complex Clause Type I; (B) Complex Clause Type II; and (C) Complex Clause Type III. The number of types can be increased by combining any two, and all three, but this is not necessary.

The reason for setting up the Complex Clauses and discussing them is to raise the question whether there is anything in Igbo clause structure which validates or invalidates the analysis which has resulted in certain elements in verbal clauses being called 'Auxiliary Verbs', 'Participle', and 'Cognate Object'. The Complex Clause types are illustrated as follows:

(A) Complex Clause Type I: This is characterized by the occurrence of two verbs of different types in close cohesion, as in (1).

- (1) (a) Ọ/nà ème/ ọrnū. 'He is, as a fact, working.'  
 (b) Ọ /gà àzụ/ ọkpụ. 'He will buy a hat.'  
 (c) Ọ /mà yà ème/. 'He knows how to do it.'

(B) Complex Clause Type II: This is characterized by a double occurrence of the same verb with the same or modified form in each case, as in the following examples.

- (2) (a) Ọ /gàrà àga/. 'He did go.'  
 (b) Ọ /mèrè yà ème./ 'He did do it.'  
 (c) Ọ /jì èji/. 'He does have (some).'  
 (d) Ọ /nwèrè eg'o ènwe/. 'He does have money too.'

(C) Complex Clause Type III: This is also a clause of two verbals, but in which the first verb must be either ka, gha or ga, and the second verb any other verb type.

These three elements have nowhere been mentioned before. So a little more space will be given to them before we return to (A) and (B) above.

They may be assigned the following meanings though their use often has 'modal' content: ka 'still/up to now'; ga 'at last/after all'; gha 'rather/instead'. They are Class I verbs.

They cannot occur without being followed immediately by another, and lexical, verb. Consider the following occurrences:

(i) Declarative I

- (3) (a) Òbî/kà mè/ya. 'Òbi is still doing it.'  
 (b) Òbî /gà mè/ya. 'Òbi is doing it after all.'  
 (c) Òbî /ghà mè/ya. 'Òbi, instead, is doing it.'

(ii) Declarative II

- (4) (a) Ọ còrò imē ya, Òbî/ākā ème/yā. 'He wanted to do it, but Òbi was still doing it.'  
 (b) Ọ còrò imē ya, Òbî /āgā ème/ yā. 'He wanted to do it, but Òbi was, after all, doing it.'  
 (c) Ọ còrò imē ya, Òbî /āghā ème/ yā. 'He wanted to do it, but Òbi was doing it, instead.'

(iii) Declarative III



- (5) (a) Òbi /āka me/ya. 'Òbi should have been doing it still!  
 (b) Òbi /āga mee/ya. 'Òbi should have done it after all.'  
 (c) Òbi /āgha mee/ ya. 'Òbi should rather have done it.'

They have not been found in Declarative IV.

(iv) Imperative I

- (6) (a) Kà me ya. 'Go on doing it still.'  
 (b) Gà me ya. 'Get on then and do it (without further delay).'  
 (c) Ghà me ya. 'You then, do it.'

No occurrence of them have been found in Imperative II.

Observe the absence of tone change in the object of Imperative I.

(v) Interrogative

- (7) (a) Òbì ò/kà mè/ya? 'Is Òbi still doing it?'  
 (b) Òbì ò /gà mè/ya? 'Is Òbi doing it after all?'  
 (c) Òbì ò /ghà mè/ya? 'Is Òbi doing it instead?'

(vi) Negative Clause

- (8) (a) Òbi/akā me/ya. 'Òbi would not be doing it still.'  
 (b) Òbi /agā me/ya. 'Òbi would not have done it after all.'  
 (c) Òbi/aghā me/ ya. 'Òbi would not have done it instead.'

The following examples have strong 'modal' contents.

- (9) (a) Òbî/kǎ mē/ya. 'Òbi would have done it still (if...)'  
 (b) Òbî /gǎ mē/ ya. 'Òbi would have done it after all (if...)'

- (c) Òbî/ghǎ mē/ ya. 'Òbi would have done it instead (if...)'
- (10) (a) Òbi/àkǎ mē/ya. 'Òbi would have still done it (had not...)'
- (b) Òbi /àgǎ mē/ ya. 'Òbi would have done it after all (had not...)'
- (c) Òbi /àghǎ mē/ ya. 'Òbi would have done it instead (had not...)'
- (11) (a) Òbi /kǎ ème/yǎ... 'If Òbi should still be doing it ...'
- (b) Òbi /gǎ ème/ yǎ... 'If Òbi should after all be doing it...'
- (c) Òbi /ghǎ ème/yǎ... 'If Òbi should be doing it instead...'
- (12) (a) Òbi/ka me/yǎ... 'If Òbi should still be doing it (which is possible/probable)...'
- (b) Òbi /ga me/ yǎ... 'If Òbi should after all be doing it (which is possible/probable)...'
- (c) Òbi /gha me/ yǎ... 'If Òbi should be doing it instead (which is possible/probable)...'

The glosses given to the three items are to be taken in a rather rough sense, for they are often used with more subtle senses. However, from their fixed positions in the clause relative to the subject (where it occurs, and also to other verbals, and from the variety of tones they take to express

modal meanings, they can be termed 'modal auxiliaries' or, at least, 'auxiliary verbs'. In any case, they should be distinguished from the items which now go by the terms 'auxiliary verbs' in the language. To these attention is now turned.

#### VC.12. Auxiliary Verbs.<sup>1</sup>

The verb 'na' (which in the infinitive is sometimes *inā* and sometimes *inà*, but behaves in every other respect as a Class I verb) has been called 'the auxiliary verb'. But there has been some equivocation about the verbs *igā* 'to go'; *ijī* 'to use'/'hold' and *isī* 'to originate from', 'to come/go from'; and the verb *ivū* 'to be' has not been given any consideration at all. The question therefore arises as to the criterion for determining 'auxiliary verbs'.

The major syntactic characteristic of the three auxiliaries considered above is their inability to follow any other verb. The second is that they cannot constitute the only verb in a clause, except in response clauses, as in (1).

- (1) (a) *Ò/kà bì/Àba?* 'Is he still living at Àba?'  
 (b) *Ò/kà/.* 'He still is.'

The third characteristic is that they do not take suffixes, and only take the prefix a-. (Consequently, other words cannot be derived from them.) Fourthly, they cannot by them-

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1. Green and Igwe: op.cit., p.141f; Carrell: op.cit., p.31.

selves constitute a Complex Clause Type II.

Like them, the verb na can only occur in first position before any other verb with which it is directly related, as in (2), and can occur as the only verb in a clause only in response clauses, as in (3).

(2) (a) Ọ/nà àbya./ 'He is indeed coming.'

(b) Ọ/nà èri/nrī. 'He is in fact eating.'

(3) (a) Ọ/nà èjukwe?/ 'I hope it is filling up, is it?'

(b) Ọ /nà/. 'It is.'

Like them also, other word classes (except the Infinitive) cannot be derived from it, as can happen with other types of verb. But unlike them, it takes suffixes, as in (4), and can constitute a Complex Clause Type II, as in (5).

(4) (a) Ọ/naghî/ ème yā. 'He is not, as a fact, doing it.'

(b) Ọ /nààrà/ ème yā. 'He used to do it, as a matter of fact.'

(c) Ọ /nālā/ ème yā. 'He has started to do it, as a fact.'

(5) Ọ /nà ànā/ ème yā. 'He is in the constant habit of doing it, as a matter of fact.'

The lexical meaning of na (which hitherto has not been realized because the function of the word had been misinterpreted (See As.3.1., p.118f), is 'in fact', 'really', 'indeed'.

Like na, si, ji, ga and vu precede the verb with which they are directly related except na itself which must precede as in

(6) - (9). Like na, they take suffixes, but unlike it other word classes can be derived from them, as in (10), for instance.

- (6) (a) ebe o /sì àbya/ 'the place he is coming from/through'  
 (b) ebe ọ /nà èsî/ àbya 'the place he is really coming from'
- (7) (a) ihyne o /jî ème/ yā 'the thing he does it with'  
 (b) ihyne ọ /nà èjî/ ème yā 'the thing he really does it with'
- (8) (a) ihyne ọ /gà ème/ yā 'the thing he is going to do to it'  
 (b) ihyne ọ /nà àgà/ ème yā 'the thing he really goes and does to it'
- (9) (a) ihyne ọ /vù ème/ yā 'the thing he used to do to it'  
 (b) ihyne ọ /nà èvù/ ème yā 'the thing he really used to do to it.'
- (10) (a) /òsisi/ Àba ìgā 'passing through Àba to go'  
 (b) /nga/ imē ya 'going to do it'  
 (c) /evu/ ēme 'a usual practice'

si, ji, ga, and vu, can take suffixes like na, as in (11).

- (11) (a) òthù o /sîrî/ ème yā 'how he was doing it'  
 (b) ihyne ȳ /jighî/ ème yā 'why he is not doing it'  
 (c) ihyne ọ /gààrà/ ème 'what he should have done'  
 (d) ihyne ò /vùlè/ ème 'whatever he used to do'

They can also constitute Complex Clauses Type II by themselves.

There are therefore two basic differences between na and

the other four verbs: (a) they are always preceded by na when it co-occurs with them and <sup>is</sup> directly related to them; (b) other word classes are derivable from them, but not from na (except the infinitive which is, even then, tonally unsteady). These facts throw some light on the matter of 'auxiliariness' in Igbo syntax.

The 'auxiliary verb', in relation to the verb which is directly connected with it, expresses what might be termed 'MANNER': it indicates a feature attributable to the 'action' denoted by the other verb.<sup>1</sup> It has a kind of 'adverbial' function. Thus Igbo verbs may be classified (or subclassified) into "MANNER VERBS" and "NON-MANNER VERBS". 'Manner Verbs' or verbs 'used' as 'Manner Verbs' precede those 'Non-manner Verbs' directly related to them. So 'auxiliary verbs' are 'Manner Verbs', and 'verbs used as auxiliary verbs' are 'Non-Manner Verbs' used as 'Manner Verbs'.

Three types of 'auxiliary verbs' are recognizable on syntactic grounds, and distinguished as follows:

- (a) Primary Auxiliary Verbs: ka, gha, and ga (i).
- (b) Secondary Auxiliary Verbs: na
- (c) Tertiary Auxiliary Verbs: si, ji, ga (ii), and vu.

When all three types occur, the order is Primary plus

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1. Cf. Barbara M-H-Strang: Modern English Structure; p.159; Rodney D. Huddleston: op.cit, p.152.

Secondary plus Tertiary, as in (12) where the relationships are indicated by bracketing.

- (12) Ụzò ọ (ghà (nà (èsí, àbaya))) 'the way he does take now  
                   1      2      3      4  
                                   to come' ('way he rather  
                                   really takes comes')

Apart from the difference in sequential ordering, there is another between Primary, on the one hand, and Secondary and Tertiary on the other. It is this, that whereas in the case of the latter two another element can come between the auxiliary verb and the following non-auxiliary verb, this cannot happen in the case of the Primary auxiliaries. Consider (13). The intervening word is underlined.

- (13) (a) Ọ /nà yà mme./ 'He is actually doing it, as a fact.'  
       (b) Ọ /gà jí èri./ 'He will certainly eat the yam.'  
       (c) Ọ /sì Òwèrè àbaya/ 'He will come through/from Òwèrè.'  
       (d) Ọ /vù yà ème/ 'He is used to doing it.'  
       (e) Ọ /jì ugbò èrute./ 'He will arrive by train.'

At this point the statement of Kenneth Pike may be quoted: "The evidence of the emergence of this class (i.e. auxiliary verbs) within the clause cluster is grammatical (by restrictive distribution in construction), lexical (by specialization of meaning), and phonological (by special minor rules for usage of tones..."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Kenneth L. Pike: 'Grammar as Wave' - 18th Annual Round Table, 1967, p.7.

Two more facts about 'auxiliariness' are as follows.

In the place where the secondary or tertiary auxiliaries occur, that is, in the first position, other types of verbs can occur and have 'adverbial' meanings or give adverbial senses to the expressions containing the next verb: and they can take objects/complements in such positions. Consider these examples.

- (14) (a) Ọ/mà ème/yā. 'He does it knowingly.'  
 (b) Ọ /mà egwû ègwu/ 'He plays well.' ('He knows game plays')
- (15) (a) nrî o/rî àrnu/ornû 'food he will eat and in consequence of which will then work'  
 (b) O/rî nrî àrnu/ ornû 'He works while eating' ('He eats food works work')
- (16) (a) ihyne o /kwhò ème/ yā. 'Why he does it' ('the thing he regards does it.')
- (b) O/kwhò ehynî àgba/ ọsọ. 'He runs away because of the cow.' ('He regards cow runs race')

The other fact is that the auxiliary relation of the auxiliary verb or the auxiliary verb-phrase (if an object also occurs) is tonally indicated by the tone relationship between the verb/verb-phrase and the following verb or verb-phrase. It is this, that if the second verb has the prefix a-/e-, and the first verb or verb-phrase ends with a high tone syllable, the latter must take also a falling tone before the low-tone prefix of the second verb. This has been indicated above



throughout the examples already given. The omission of the falling tone in grammatical works on clauses, or treating it as a mere phonetic feature is due to lack of appreciation of the nature of the Complex Clause Type I. When the following verb form does not have the prefix, the falling tone does not occur, as in (17).

- (17) (a) Ǿ /gàrà mee/yā... 'If he had done it...'  
 (b) Ya /ga mee/ yā... 'If he goes and does it...` 'i.e.  
 'If as a consequence of his going he does it...'  
 (c) Unù gà /yà mme/ 'You will certainly do it.'

The possibility of the occurrence of verbs without the prefix a-/e- leads now to a consideration of 'Participle' and 'Cognate Object'.

VC.13. Aorist Verb form miscalled 'Participle'/'Cognate Object'

In the Complex Clause Type I, the second verb can have a number of forms determined by the grammar of the piece. The verb form which has the prefix has hitherto been described, erroneously, as the 'participle' when it occurs with the verbs na and ga in the Complex Clause Type I, and as 'Cognate Object' when it occurs in the Complex Clause Type II. It will be shown now that this classification is mistaken. It will be shown that the verb form in question is the Aorist verb form (See T.3.2., p. 91 below) and is one of the forms that a second verb can take in a Complex Clause Type I, and

the only form it can take in Type II.

Consider the following examples with the verbs na and ga as first verbs.

- (1) (a) Ọ nà /èkwu/ okwū. 'He speaks, as a matter of fact.'  
 'He is/was speaking, ....'
- (b) Ọ nà /kwuo/ okwū, 'ya àfùọ. 'As soon as he had spoken, he went out.'
- (c) Ọ nà /ikwū/ okwu. 'He must speak/He's got to speak.'
- (d) Ọ nà/nkwu/. (Response clause) 'He does speak actually.'  
 = Ọ nà /nkwu/okwū ěkwu. ('He indeed speaking word speaks.')
- = Ọ nà /èkwu/ okwū ěkwu. ('He indeed speaks word speaks.')
- (e) Ọ nà okwu/nkwu/. 'He does speak, actually.' ('He indeed word actually speaking.')
- (f) Ọ nà okwū /èkwu/mgbè'anyị rùrù. 'He was in the process of speaking when we arrived.' ('He was indeed word speaks time we arrived.')
- (g) Ọ nà okwu /èkwu/. 'He does speak, as a matter of fact.'
- (2) (a) Ọ gà /àzu/ anū. 'He'll buy meat.'
- (b) Ọ gàrà /zuọ/ anū. 'He went and bought meat.'
- (c) Ọ gà /izū/ anū. 'He'll buy meat'/'He's got to buy meat'/'He's going to buy meat.'

- (d) Ọ gà /nzu/. (Response Clause) 'He'll certainly/  
actually buy.'  
= Ọ gà /nzu/ anū āzu. ('He will buying meat buys.')
- = Ọ gà/āzu/ anū āzu. ('He will buys meat buys.')
- (e) Ọ gà anū /nzu/. 'He'll certainly buy meat.' ('He  
will meat actually buying.')
- (f) Ọ gà anū /āzu/ mgbè o nwètàrà eg'o. 'He'll be  
dealing in meat when he gets money.'
- (g) Ọ gà anū /āzu/. 'He will indeed buy meat.'

In (1) and (2), (a), (f) and (g) contain the Aorist verb form with the characteristic prefix a-/e-; in (b) the Aorist verb without a prefix; in (c) the infinitive; and in (d) and (e) the true participle (see Nf.1.2., p.310 below).

What is being contended is not that the participle cannot occur following the verbs na and ga (and indeed any other auxiliary verb). What is being said is that what has hitherto been called the participle is not a participle at all. It is not a participle for the following reasons: it cannot function as a noun (that is, it cannot be a subject or object); and it cannot function as a noun modifier (like adjectives and nouns can do in the language.) But these are functions which the true participle of the language can do without any difficulty. On the other hand its prefix can be dropped under certain conditions, and when it is retained it is tonally variable depending on the tone of the preceding

syllable. And these are the characteristics of the Aorist verb form, as they have been found in this work, for instance in the Declarative II-IV Clauses.

The reason why it was called the 'participle' is that the construction in which it occurs was equated directly with the English construction 'be+present participle' with which it has, on occasion, similar semantic sense. The verb na was equated with 'be', and the next verb with the 'present participle' of its semantically equivalent verb in English. This was where the error lay, and is a warning not to equate the grammatical structure of one language directly with that of another. (It is of interest to note that Dr. Ward never used the word 'participle' of the second verb form, but said, "The Na-form is used as a kind of participle".<sup>1</sup> But this was in addition to its ordinary usage which she had earlier described.)

The same verb form is met with in Complex Clauses Type II, where the first verb is repeated at the end, and there always takes a prefix. Here again the tonal behaviour of the prefix indicates that it is the Aorist verb form. The recurrence of the first verb is one of the ways by which the language stresses the fact that the action denoted by the verb was/was not performed, or of contrasting action that was performed with

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1. Ward: Op.cit. p.188.

another which might have been performed. Repetition has a number of functions in Igbo grammar. The verbal form at the end of a Complex Clause Type II is not a noun, nor, therefore, an object, including 'cognate object'. The clause can have an appropriate object preceding the second occurrence of the verb, and in addition to the verb form, as the following examples show. In the examples the verbal form under consideration is put in //. (1) contains a Class I verb, and (2) contains a Class II verb.

- (1) (a) O rìrì /èrì/. 'He did eat.'  
(b) O rìrì ihyne /ěri/. 'He did eat something.'

Contrast these with (c) and (d).

- (c) O rìrì. 'He ate.'  
(d) O rìrì ihyne. 'He ate something.'  
(2) (a) Ọ zàrà/azà./ 'He did sweep.'  
(b) Ọ zàrà èzi/àzà./ 'He did sweep the yard.'

Contrast these with (c) and (d).

- (c) Ọ zàrà. 'He swept.'  
(d) Ọ zàrà èzi. 'He swept the yard.'

In transformational terms, the final verbal form is what remains of the second occurrence of a repeated sentence, repeated for stress or contrast. Thus (1) (b), for instance, is derived as follows:

- (3) O rìrì ihyne. + O rìrì ihyne. → 'He ate something. He ate something' -

O rîrî ihyne + -rîrî (Deletion of common subject and obj.)  
 → /O rîrî ihyne ēri./ (Converting second verb to Aorist  
 form and adjusting tone of prefix.)

In conclusion, the so-called 'participle' and 'cognate  
 object' are one and the same verbal form. They are not  
 Non-finite forms, nor nouns. They are finite verbs.

VC.14. The verb 'na' miscalled 'Na prefix'

In Green and Igwe it is stated, "There is also a lexical  
 prefix, na- (ne-), of which the vowel harmonizes with the stem  
 vowel of the verb, and which occurs only with the subordinate,  
 relative A and B of the verb which have an inflexional vowel  
 prefix..."<sup>1</sup> The fact of the language is that for a finite  
 verb there is only one type of prefix, the a-/eə prefix, and  
 no finite verb takes a prefix na-/ne-. (The only items in  
 the language which have na-prefix are the dual naāwò, the  
 final naāto - see N.9.1.3, p.245 - and probably naāni 'only',  
 niīle 'all'). What was called na-prefix in the quotation  
 is the verb na occurring in a Subjunctive I (i.e. Conditional)  
 clause, as in the following instances.

- (1) /Ndị na/ ābya ahyā abyāghị. 'Those who should have come  
 to the market, if this was really true, did not come.'  
 (2) /Onye na/ ēmeghī ya, è rie yā ìwu. 'If any one, if  
 such there should be, does not do it, he will be fined'/

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1. Op.cit, p.67f.

'Any one who does not do it, if there should be any such, will be fined.'

Such sentences are syntactically complex. The first part with the verb na is a conditional clause with na as the only verb (another construction in which na can occur without a second verb to which it is bound); the second verb, with its complement, is a relative clause and adjunct of the subject; and the third and last part is a declarative clause (negative in (1) and positive in (2)). If the na is deleted, then the sentence will lose its Conditional part. Thus (1) becomes (3), and (2) becomes (4).

- (3) /Ndi ābya/ ahyā abyāghī. 'The people who should have come to the market did not come.'
- (4) /Onye ēmeghī/ ya, è rie yā ìwu. 'One who does not do it will be fined.'

Dependent Clauses whether Simplex or Complex are not discussed in this work because they will not be necessarily needed in what follows on affixation, and because there is no space for them. However, one of them, the Subjunctive I clause is relevant to the understanding of what has been miscalled 'Na prefix'. In this dependent clause, Class I verbs have high tones and Class II verbs low tones. Hence the high tone of na in (1) and (2) above. Compare it with hny 'see' in (5).

- (5) Hna /hny/ anũ, hna.āzuta. 'If they see meat, they will buy (it) and bring back.'

In (5) hna has an object, being a 'transitive verb'. Na has no object in (1) and (2) because it is not such a verb and does not in any case have an object, though the object of the clause in which it occurs can be transposed to occur next to it, as in VC.13 (1) (e), (f) and (g).



## PART 2

### CHAR 7

#### Affixes

#### Af.1. Morphological types of affixes

There are three morphological types of affixes in Igbo:

(a) Prefixes; (b) Suffixes; and (c) Infixes.

##### Af.1.1. Prefixes

The prefixes consist of the eight vowels of the language, (V-), the nasal consonants, (N-) and na-. The first two types are added to verb stems to derive other word classes. The V- harmonizes with the immediately following verb root, and the N- is homorganic with the immediately following consonant of the verb stem. Na- has been found only with numerals, and items that indicate number. They consist of the following:

- (1) naàwò 'both/two of a kind' (~naàbò from àbùò 'two')
- (2) naāni 'only' (paucal) (from mnaā 'one')
- (3) niīle 'all' (origin unknown so far). The vowel of na- is assimilated to the following one in niīle.

##### Af.1.2. Suffixes

There are five phonological types of suffixes as follows:

- (a) -N (which occurs as the bilabial consonant /m/);
- (b) -V (which is realized by any of the eight vowels);
- (c) -CV; (d) -VCV; and (e) -CVCV.

The -VCV type consists of the following:

- (1) -IghA 'into'; (2) -IsI 'out of'; (3) -ahna 'away to'.

The -CVCV type consists of the following:

- (4) -rɪsɪ 'up till now'; (5) -gidhe 'against/upon';  
 (6) -lahna 'beyond/away from'; (7) -lähna 'more than/beyond';  
 (8) -kàta 'on and on'; (9) -mìte 'on and on'; (10) -kɪsɪ  
 'un-' (negating).

The suffixes are classified, phonologically, into Class I and Class II according to their tones, Class I consisting of high tone suffixes, such as -tA, -lA, -rɪsɪ, -m, and Class II consisting of low tone ones such as -tù, -rì, kàta.

They are also syntactically classified into MOVABLE and NON-MOVABLE suffixes or particles.— The movable suffixes consisting of the following:

- (11) -dɪ (Anaphora); (12) -nɪ (Anaphora); (13) -kwa  
 (Anaphora); (14) -thà (Modality); (15) -nì (2nd person  
 plural pronoun); (16) -sɪ (Number); (17) -cha (Number);  
 (18) -rA/E (Case) (whose movability is very restricted).

The suffixes are called Movable Suffixes because they can occur suffixed to verbs or occur independently following a nominal.

#### Af.1.2.1. Functional classes of suffixes

Suffixes are of two major functional classes:

- (a) grammatical; and (b) lexical or semantic.

Lexical suffixes are restricted in their distributions to the verbs with which they can occur and their occurrence merely adds to the lexical meaning of the stem. (See

'Lexical Suffixes'.) Grammatical suffixes, on the other hand are free in their distribution and can occur with any verb of the language, and their occurrence adds a grammatical dimension to the verb or the clause.

Excluding the Vowel Suffixes, and taking as one element any suffix that has multiple grammatical functions, 42 grammatical suffixes have so far been found in the language and are discussed later under the grammatical categories in which they are relevant.

#### Af.1.2.2. Grammatical Suffixes

Grammatical suffixes fall into three subclasses:

- (a) derivational: This consists only of the bilabial consonant -m, which is used in deriving adjectives, adverbs and nouns.
- (b) derivational and inflexional: This consists of the Vowel Suffixes, the Case suffixes -rA/E (Benefactive-Dative) and -rI (Comitative) which in addition to their inflexional functions can occur as derivatives in the derivation of, for instance, adjectives.
- (c) inflexional: All other suffixes than those mentioned in (a) and (b) are inflexional.

#### Af.1.3. Infixes

Infixes do not occur in the language except when nouns, adjectives, or adverbs are being derived from other words, especially verbs, by a process involving discontinuous duplication. Apart from the infixes -m- and -ma- (whose

vowel is assimilated to the following vowel), all other infixes (as listed below) are either grammatical suffixes, or lexical suffixes occurring in infix positions as a result of the morphological process by which another word is derived from the one\_s in which they are members. These consist of the following:

- (1) -dA/E-; (2) -dhA/E-; (3) -ghA/E; (4) -lA/E-;  
 (5) -tA/E; (6) -rA/E

These are abundantly illustrated in the main parts of this work, but here a few examples are given:

- (6) eri-m-eri 'food' (irī 'to eat')  
 (7) èzù-me-èzù 'a large gathering'/'an assembly' (izù 'to meet')  
 (8) ùkwù-mū-ùkwù 'step by step' (ùkwù 'leg')  
 (9) mkpu-te-mkpu 'humped' (ikpū 'to enter underneath' + -tA ('case') 'to/towards')  
 (10) epe-re-epe 'chipped', 'slight' (ipē 'to chip' + -rA/E ('case' - Dative: Benefactive))  
 (11) okpoto-okpo 'big-looking' (ikpōtò 'to look big')

The items above are written as they are morphologically composed. In (11) the syllable -to is a lexical suffix inseparable from the stem whereas the second morpheme in (6) to (10) is separable. However, the presence of -to (and other lexical suffixes like it) makes possible the derivation of this morphological type of word. So from this point of

view even lexical suffixes can be said to have grammatical function in aiding derivation. This is similar to the fact that inflexional suffixes (as stated in Af.1.2.2.) can have derivational functions too.

Af.1.4. Problem of isolating suffixes from verb roots

It has often been said that suffixes are difficult to distinguish and isolate from verb roots. This alleged difficulty is the result of: (a) assuming that all suffixes have a CV structure as verb roots of Class I and Class II verbs have (but it has been shown above that the phonological structure of suffixes varies, thus making a number of them quite distinct from verb roots); (b) the fact that while some suffixes allow their vowels to be assimilated to that of a preceding syllable, others allow theirs to be harmonized, while others still resist these two processes. The greatest cause of such a difficulty is, (c), the assumption by a number of investigators that (with the possible exception of a few) the suffixes are all lexical or 'Meaning Modifying Suffixes' possibly originally derived from verbs, and whose meaning and function should be looked for entirely in the verb structure.

However, the problem ceases to be insuperable once it is discovered that there are two functional classes of suffixes - grammatical and lexical - which have different distributional characteristics; and once it has been found that far from the functions of the suffixes being restricted to the verb

structure (in the case of grammatical suffixes) each of the suffixes gives an indication somewhere else in the verbal clause which helps to isolate it from verbs, including verb roots with which it has phonological identity.

Because the consideration of suffixes in Igbo has thus far been limited to the verb piece, it has escaped notice that the occurrence of some of them gives rise to Subject-Verb or Verb-Object concord, to colligation, or to correlation (as when the occurrence of a suffix is linked with the occurrence of an NP or Prephrase somewhere else in the clause); or to reference to a preceding or succeeding clause (as in the case of the anaphoric suffixes.) Therefore to achieve accuracy in analysis and categorisation in the matter of suffixes, not only the verb structure but also the whole verbal clause and longer structures must be taken into consideration. For what the verb piece does is to be the hub in which the various spokes in the wheel - the clausal construction - are attached. Such an approach has been adopted in the present work, and has yielded results which have led to the conclusion that the majority of suffixes in Igbo are grammatical and not lexical in function.

#### Af.1.5. List and Grammatical Categories of Affixes

The list of Igbo grammatical affixes and the categories of the grammar to which they belong are now given, and after discussed.

(I) Prefixes

- (a) Inflexional: a-/e- (Tense)  
 a- (Emphasis:Pronominal; Adj.)
- (b) Derivational: a-/e-; i-/i-; o-/o-; u-/u- (Nouns, Adjectives)  
 N- (Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)

(II) Suffixes:

- (a) Derivational: -m (Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)
- (b) Inflexional; Derivational:  
 -a/e; -i/i; -o/o; -u/u (Tense, Aspect;  
 Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)  
 -rA/E; -rI; (Case; Adjectives)

(c) Inflexional:

- (i) -rA/E (Tense)
- (ii) -lA; -wA; -rɪsɪ (Aspect)  
 -A/O (Aspect)
- (iii) -rA/E; -sɪ; -rI; (Abstract Case)  
 -tA; -la; -tà; -rà; -sa; -g'o; -tù; -gidhe;  
 -IghA; -IsI; -lahna; làhna; --ahna (Local Case)
- (iv) sɪ/-sɪ; -se/-sa; -cha; -ghA; -kɔ; -hule;  
 -kàta; -mìte (Number); -bè (Paucal)
- (v) -nɪ (-nù) (Pronoun)
- (vi) dɪ/-dɪ; nɪ/-nɪ; kwA/-kwA (Anaphora); (-kwA also Number)
- (vii) -mò; -thà/ thà; (Modality)
- (viii) -ghI; -hna (Emphasis/Insistence)

(ix) -kisị (Privative)

(x) -rị (as in ikārị); -rì; -tu (Comparison)

(III) Infixes: Derivational (as in Af.1.3, (1) to (6) above.

From the functions assigned to the affixes, and the dimensions of the grammar in which they operate, it will be seen how great a role these elements play in the language.

#### Af.2. The sequential order of classes of suffixes

Suffixes follow each other sequentially in a verb structure, and except in the Compound-Complex verb structure, suffixes are always preceded by verb roots.

It is not possible to give a detailed account of the position of all suffixes relative to all other suffixes when these co-occur in a verb form. What is given here is the general order which classes of suffixes follow when their representatives co-occur. The general order is as follows;

(1) Verb root + Lexical + Case + Number + Anaphora/Comparison +  
           1          2          3          4                          5  
Aspect + Tense + Modality + Emphasis  
           6          7          8          9

All the classes of suffixes are not represented in any given verb form, but for those which occur, each will take its place as given above. When emphasis, or primacy intervenes, some changes can be made in the ordering such that one that normally precedes follows if it is less important than the one that precedes it, according to the immediate context. Thus we can have the -ghI 'emphasis' before rather than after some other suffixes, except the lexical and case suffixes.



Consider (2).

- (2) (a) Unu /wètaralaghi/ m̄ ya... 'As long as you bring it to me' (emphatic)  
 (b) Unu /wètaghilara/ m̄ ya. (same as (a) but -ghi more emphatic still).

In the case of the -rA/E 'Benefactive-Dative case, its place in the verb structure is determined by where the NP co-related with it occurs in the clause. If the NP is the subject, the suffix will occur early in the verb structure, but if it is a complement, then the suffix occurs at the end or towards the end of the verb structure, as in (3).

- (3) (a) /O/ gārachaala ɔrnū. 'She has already gone to the farm for her own purpose and come back.'  
 (b) O gāchaalara /yā/ ɔrnū. 'She has already gone to the farm for him and come back.'

A few examples are now given of the order of some suffixes in verb structures, using figures to indicate the classes.

- (4) O /vù-tè-sì-wà-rà/ hnà n'ebe à. 'He went on carrying  
           1   3   4   6   7  
 them to this place.'
- (5) Hnâ /ko-bò-sà-là-ghà-rà/ n'ama. 'They were all out in  
           1   2   3   3   4   7  
 square like the empty people they are.'
- (6) Hna /āci-tà-rìsì-mò-ghì/ hnà ebe ahnū... 'In case they  
           1   3   6   8   9  
 should still be collecting and taking them to that place, which is strongly probable...'

- (7) 0 /nwē-ta-kari-a-la/ mmekpāāhū. 'He gets himself so much  
 1 3 5 6 6  
 into trouble.'

The affixes are now to be considered under the various grammatical categories in which they are used.

CHAP. 8Tense and AspectT.1. Mood, Tense, Aspect

Mood is expressed in the language by the organization of 'participants' or items in a verbal clause, the tone-structure (or intonation) of the clause, and also by the form of the verb/verbs in the clause. And the form of the verb expresses the Tense it represents. Thus Mood and Tense are simultaneously involved in a given clause. However, for simplicity, both categories are dealt with separately. The major Mood clauses of the language have been discussed on pages 48f. Now Tense will be discussed, though in the context of Verbal Clauses, without specific regard to Mood.

Every Igbo verb in a Verbal Clause has an aspectual form whatever Tense it may represent. In some instances particular aspects are overtly represented by some morphemes, but in some others not so represented. Thus Tense and Aspect are in some ways involved with each other. In the presentation below, however, they are discussed separately because where Aspect is overtly marked, it selects different elements from those selected by Tense.

T.2. Tense

Tense is discussed here with particular reference to the form which a verb may have in a Verbal Clause "to indicate the different times in which the 'action' is viewed as happening

or existing."<sup>1</sup> Tense, in Igbo, as a deictic category, is a feature of the sentence.<sup>2</sup> It does not only require the verb to be of certain forms, but can also necessitate the occurrence in the sentence of certain other expressions - adverbials of time (which David Crystal summarizes in the term 'Specification'<sup>3</sup>). Because of the limitation imposed by the subject of the thesis, only the elements which occur as affixes in the verb are discussed, and 'Specification' is merely taken note of where necessary.

#### T.2.1. Tense and Time

It is necessary to state at the outset that Tense and Time are two different things, and that in the language the same Tense may be used to refer to 'past time', 'present time', or 'future time'. Failure to recognize the distinction between 'form' and 'use of form' has led some linguists to deny the existence of Tense or some particular Tenses in Igbo. As Barbara Strang observes in the reference given above, "Tense

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1. Barbara M.H. Strang: 'Modern English Structure' p.143.
  2. John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics p.305; 'Towards a 'Notional' Theory of the 'Parts of Speech', JL vol. 3, no.1, 1967, p.218.  
Charles J. Fillmore: 'The Case for Case' - Universals in Linguistic Theory' (Ed. Bach and Harms) p.23. "There are probably good reasons for regarding negation, tense and mood as associated directly with the sentence as a whole, while the perfect and progressive 'aspects' as features on the V."
  3. David Crystal: 'Specification and English Tenses' - JL 2, no.1, 1966, pp. 1-133.

is any of the forms in the conjugation of the verb which serve to indicate the different times in which the 'action' is viewed as happening or existing. The italics here draw attention to the fact that tenses do not refer directly to 'real', i.e. extra-linguistic, time, but to the speaker's subjective use of distinctions of time drawn (in general, compulsorily drawn) in accordance with the conventions of his language; the language may even use these distinctions for grammatical purposes that have nothing to do with time."

### T.3. Tense Forms

Three basic Tense Forms are recognized for Igbo as follows:

- (i) Simple Tense, which consists of the verb stem only (whether simple or complex), and in positive clauses occurs in Declarative Form I and Imperative Clauses.
- (ii) Aorist Tense, which is marked by the occurrence of the inflexional harmonizing prefix e/a-. It occurs in Declarative Form II, Declarative Form III, Declarative Form IV, and in Negative Clauses. (see pp.48f )
- (iii) Past Tense, which is formed by suffixing -rA/E to either the Simple Tense or the Aorist Tense and can occur only in the same type of clause in which the base from which it is derived can occur.

#### T.3.1. Simple Tense

The Simple Tense is sometimes called 'Tense I' to

distinguish it from the Aorist Tense which is called 'Tense II'.<sup>1</sup> The term Simple Tense is preferred to 'Present Tense' in order to avoid any misleading impression of its reference to time. The Simple Tense may refer to present, past, or future time, according to the situational context. The exact time reference may be 'specified' by time adverbial expressions.

Consider the following examples. Adverbials are enclosed in //.

- (1) Àdhâ vù èkète. (a) 'Àdha is carrying a wicker-basket.'  
 (b) 'Àdha was carrying a wicker-basket.'  
 (c) 'Àdha will carry a wicker-basket.'
- (2) (a) Àdhâ vù èkète /ùgbü à./ 'Àdha is carrying a wicker-basket now.'  
 (b) Àdhâ vù èkète /mgbè m hnùrù ya./ 'Àdha was carrying a wicker-basket when I saw her.'  
 (c) Àdhâ vù èkète /eci dĩ n'ihnu./ 'Àdha will carry a wicker-basket tomorrow.' ('... next day in front.')
- (3) Ọjhị gbà ọsọ. 'Let Ọjhị run.'
- (4) (a) Ọjhị gbà ọsọ /ùgbu à./ 'Let Ọjhị run now.'  
 (b) Ọjhị gbà ọsọ /eci./ 'Let Ọjhị run tomorrow.'

The Simple Tense can also express, in the Declarative Form I, 'modality': obligation, necessity, or compulsion, as in (5).

- (5) Ezè mè ọrụ. (a) 'Ezè has (got) to work.'  
 (b) 'Ezè must work.'  
 (c) 'Ezè is to (be made to) work.'

As the translations of (1) to (2) (b) above show, the

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1. Igwe and Green: 'A Short Grammar of Igbo, p.27f.

Simple Tense form of the verb also carries the aspectual meaning of 'progressive' or 'continuation', although this meaning is not always brought out in translation, as in (3) to (5). More is said on this under Aspect.

### T.3.2. Aorist Tense

Very little understanding of the Aorist Tense form in Igbo has hitherto been shown by linguists. So some statement about it and what makes it different from the Simple Tense are in place.

The tense is not very dissimilar from the Greek tense from which the term is borrowed. It represents a different 'kind of action' from that represented by the Simple Tense. Whereas the Simple Tense generally represents 'durative action' or 'linear action', to put it in graphic terms, 'duration' or 'linearity' is not a primary (if at all) idea in the use of the Aorist Tense. It represents what might be summarily called 'punctiliar' or 'punctual' kind of action. It represents the action denoted by the verb as a 'point'. Consequently the form may represent INGRESSIVE, EFFECTIVE, or SUMMARY action: INGRESSIVE, if attention is focused on the fact of the action beginning, without any regard to its continuance; EFFECTIVE, if attention is given to the fact of the completion of the action; and SUMMARY, if the action is viewed as simply having occurred, without distinguishing any points in its progress. It is because of these three possibilities

in the sense of the form that in translating the Aorist Tense into English, for instance, the same verb can be rendered by either 'begin to + verb', 'have/has + past participle of verb' (the perfective expression), or simply by 'verb + PAST' (the past tense verb). The exact rendering of the form will sometimes depend upon the semantic features of the verb with the form.

In the light of this discussion, consider the following instances of the Aorist Tense in the Declarative Form II, Form III, and Negative Clauses.

(a) Declarative II

- (6) Ọjhi /èkwu/ okwū. (a) 'Ọjhi begins to speak.'  
 (b) 'Ọjhi has begun to speak.'  
 (c) 'Ọjhi has spoken.'  
 (d) 'Ọjhi spoke.'
- (7) Ọjhi /àhnu/ yā. (a) 'Ọjhi has seen him.'  
 (b) 'Ọjhi saw him.'

(b) Declarative III

- (8) Ọjhi /èkwu/ okwu. (a) 'Ọjhi should have/ought to have/  
 would have/could have/might have  
 spoken.'  
 (b) 'Ọjhi should/ought to/would/could/  
 might speak.'  
 (c) 'Ọjhi should/etc. begin to speak.'



(c) Negative Clause

- (9) Ọjhi /ekwū/ okwu. (a) 'Ọjhi did not speak.'  
 (b) 'Ọjhi did not begin to speak.'  
 (c) 'Ọjhi has not spoken.'  
 (d) 'Ọjhi never spoke/never speaks.'  
 (e) 'Ọjhi is not to/should not speak.'

For a statement on the use of the Negative Clause see p 56ff.

Because of the notion represented by the Aorist Tense it is not surprising that it is the form of the verb used for the negative clause, since the important thing is the fact of non-performance of the action denoted by the verb.

The Aorist Tense may refer to present, past, or future time, co-occurring expressions helping sometimes to define the exact time-reference.

- (10) Anyi /eme/ ọrnū. 'We have begun to work.' (Pr. time)  
 (11) Ọ byàrà, /anyi eme ọrnū./ 'He came and we began to work.' (Pst.)  
 (12) Ya byā ecī, /anyi eme ọrnū./ 'If/when he comes tomorrow, we shall begin to work.' (Fut.)

T.3.2.1. Loss of Aorist Prefix

Under the following conditions the Aorist Tense loses its prefix a/e-:

- (i) If the subject of the verbal clause is a monophonemic pronoun as in (13), (14) and (15). (The suffixes which occur in the examples are disregarded.)

- (13) (a) /M nyēle/ gĩ. 'I have given to you.'  
 (b) /I nyēle/ yā. 'You have given to him.'  
 (c) /O nyēle/ m̄. 'He has given to me.'  
 (d) /E nyēle/ hnā. 'Someone has given to them.'
- (14) (a) /M̄ maghĩ/ ya. 'I do not know him.'  
 (b) /Ī maghĩ/ ya. 'You do not know him.'

etc.

- (15) (a) /M̄' me/ ya. 'I should begin to do it.'  
 (b) /Ī' me/ ya. 'You should begin to do it.'

etc.

(ii) If the clause containing the Aorist Tense verb shares a common subject with a preceding clause in a serialized construction, the Aorist Tense verb loses its prefix, as in (16) to (18). (The relevant clauses are marked by //).

- (16) Àdhā zùtārà jì, 'Ezè èsie yā, /sụọ yā, 'pata yā, /'hna  
 ẽrie. 'Àdha bought some yam, Ezè cooked it, pounded  
 it, and brought it, and they ate it.'
- (17) Ezè èsie jì, /sụọ yā, pata, / anyị ẽrie. 'Ezè should  
 cook the yam, pound it and bring it so that we might  
 eat it.'
- (18) Òbî hnùrù òkpu oma, /zụọ ya. / Ọjhi ahnūghị, /'zughị. /  
 'Òbi saw a good hat and bought it. Ọjhi saw none and  
 bought none.'

(iii) In emphatic negative clauses following positive ones, the verb loses its normal prefix even though the subject is



### T.3.3. Past Tense

The Past Tense forms are derived from the Simple and Aorist Tense forms by the addition of the -rA/E which is here called 'past tense suffix'. There are two major categories of Past Tense. They have sub-categories also. The sub-categories are determined by the number of the 'past tense' suffix that occurs with the base form, the highest number being three. Any Past Tense form with more than one -rA/E suffix is Complex in structure and is called 'Complex'. The categories and subcategories of Past Tense are given below; Form II and Form III have two and three of the past tense suffix, respectively:

- (i) (a) Simple Past Tense, Form I (Simplex).
- (b) Simple Past Tense, Form II (Complex).
- (c) Simple Past Tense, Form III (Complex).
- (ii)(a) Aorist Past Tense, Form I (Simplex).
- (b) Aorist Past Tense, Form II (Complex).
- (c) Aorist Past Tense, Form III (Complex).

The Complex sub-categories have remoter time-references than the Simplex categories, the Form III indicating still more remote time than Form II.

The phonology of the 'past tense suffix' is discussed later on.

#### T.3.3.1. Simple Past Tense

The Simple Past Tense is illustrated as follows:

- (26) (a) Simple Past Tense, Form I

Òbí /nwèrè/ eg'o. 'Òbí had some money.'

(b) Simple Past Tense, Form II

Òbí /nwèèrè (nwèrèrè)/ eg'o. 'Òbí used to have some money.'

(c) Simple Past Tense, Form III:

Òbí /nwèèrèrè (nwèrèrèrè)/ eg'o. 'A long time ago Òbí used to have some money.'

T.3.3.2. Aorist Past Tense

Aorist Tense clauses of the Declarative Form II type occur more frequently in non-initial positions in sequences of clauses, especially when the tense is 'past'. So in the illustrations of this type of clause below clauses in non-initial positions will be used. For the Declarative Form III, the situation is different.

Because of the features of the Aorist Tense discussed earlier, with particular reference to its representing 'action' as done, each addition of the 'past tense suffix' makes the time-reference still more remote.

Consider the following illustrations, the verbs being underlined.

(27) (a) Aorist Past Tense, Form I

Mgbè anyị nwèrè eg'o, /anyị àzuru ehynī./ 'When we had money, we used to buy cows (but that was a long time ago)'

(b) Aorist Past Tense, Form II:

Mgbè anyị nwèèrè eg'o, /anyị àzụuru (àzururu)

ehynī./ 'When we used to have some money, we used to buy cows (but that was quite a long time ago.)'

(c) Aorist Past Tense, Form III

Mgbè anyị nwèèrèrè eg'o, /anyị àzụururu (àzurururu)

ehynī./ 'When we used to have money (so long ago now), we used to buy cows (at so remote a time).'

Consider the following examples with the Declarative Form III clause as the context instead of Decl.II, as above.

- (28) (a) Òbì /āzuru/ ehyni. 'Òbì should have bought cows then.'
- (b) Òbì /āzụuru/ ehyni. 'Òbì should have before then bought cows.'
- (c) Òbì /āzụururu/ ehyni. 'Òbì should have long before then bought cows.'

T.3.3.3. Distribution of 'past tense suffix':

In Complex Clauses the -rA/E suffixes may all occur in the first verb, or in the second verb, or be distributed between them, if more than one occurs. Consider these examples.

- (29) (a) Òbî nà /āzuru/ ocō. 'Òbî used to buy chairs.'
- (b) Òbî /nààrà/ àzụ ocō. 'Òbî used to buy chairs.'
- (c) Òbî /nààrà àzụuru/ ocō. 'Òbî used a long time ago to buy chairs.'
- (d) Òbî /nààràrà àzụururu/ ocō. 'Òbî used, a very long

time ago, to buy chairs.'

#### T.3.3.4. Past Tense Clause, Negative<sup>1</sup>

The implication of the Past Tense Clause, Negative, is that the action represented by the verb was not in practice

1. Adams: Modern Ibo Grammar, p.61 says, "The past tense, as explained earlier, cannot by its very nature have a negative. One who feels compelled to translate "I did not do it" literally, must use a periphrasis, and say "It is not I did it" *ò bughĩ m mètè ya*". This statement has no foundation in fact, as (30) to (32) show. The Igbo sentence Adams gives is an emphatic sentence in which emphasis is achieved by 'predication', in this case the subject /m/ which is then denied. The correct meaning of the sentence is 'It was not I (emphatic) (who) did it.' Just as both parts of the sentence could be negative - '*ò bughĩ m emèghĩ ya*' 'It was not me (I) (who was the person who) did not do it' - so both parts could be past, that is have the past tense suffix: '*ò bughĩrĩ/burũghĩ m mètè ya.*' 'Then it was not me (who) did it (but now it is).'

Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igbo, p.29, after quoting the statement by Adams says, "...Also, the expected negative *ò gwurũghĩ jĩ* is not possible. Based on this, and on Adams' phrase 'a statement without qualification or doubt' quoted above, I have separated the 'past tense' r form from tense categories and called it an 'assertative'." Then to her question whether Assert could be considered an alternative to the negative, she replied, "The answer is no, however, because the assertative may occur with the negative in the environment Neg (Emph) Tns - if Tns dominates aux... *a narāghĩ m èrĩ jĩ* 'I was not in the process (hab) of eating yams.'" There is some inconsistency here: a morpheme that is not a tense morpheme in one verb form becomes one in another verb form, though of a different type: the occurrence of the morpheme is said to make the negative sentence where it occurs ungrammatical (which it definitely is not), and then another negative sentence with it is said to be grammatical (which it certainly is). The fact is that the occurrence of the 'past tense' is not at any time conditioned by the occurrence of some other category. Dr. Carrell's inaccurate analysis of the 'past tense' suffix and her categorization of it are based on false impressions of the language derived from various sources.

in the past but is now, or at the relevant time of utterance.

- (30) (a) Ezè emēre ihyne dī ōthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'
- (b) Ezè emēere ihyne dī ōthu à. 'Before now Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'
- (c) Ezè emēerere ihyne dī ōthu à. 'Long before then Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'

If the 'Insistence' suffix, -ghI co-occurs with the 'past tense' suffix, either may precede the other, as in (31), the -ghI preceding if it is emphatic.

- (31) (a) Ezè /emēreghi/ ihyne dī ōthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'
- (b) Ezè /emēghire/ ihyne dī ōthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.' (emph.)

The same applies if the 'perfective aspect' -lA also occurred with -rA/E, as in (32), but with some change in the meaning of the clause.

- (32) (a) Ezè /emērele/ ɔrny. 'At that time Ezè had not yet done the work.'
- (b) Ezè /emēlere/ ɔrny. 'At that time Ezè had not begun to do the work.'

The combination of the -rA/E suffix with other types of suffixes is touched on in the discussion of its phonology below.

#### T.3.3.5. The Negative Non-finite Verb Form

The Aorist Tense verb form with Negative tone-structure



has been erroneously called 'the Negative Infinitive'.<sup>1</sup> The fact is that when it is used as a Non-finite form, it serves as the negative counterpart of all Non-finite positive forms, that is the Infinitive, the Simple Participle, and the Gerund. (See Non-finite Forms, pp. 316f) The situation is exactly as in verbal clauses (See p. 46f above) where there is only one type of Negative Verbal Clause which is used as the negative of any positive verbal clause type. In the following, (33) - (35), the positive Non-finite forms, (a), have the same negative form, (b).

(33) (a) /Imē/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'To do it is difficult.' (Infinit.)

(b) /Emē/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'Not to do it is difficult.'

(34) (a) /Mme/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'Actually doing it is difficult.'  
(Participle)

(b) /Emē/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'Not actually doing it is difficult.'

(35) (a) /Omume/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'Theoretically, doing it is difficult.' (Gerund)

(b) /Emē/ yâ rârà àhụ. 'Not doing it is difficult.'

In view of these examples the inappropriateness of the term 'Negative Infinitive' becomes rather obvious. It is preferable, therefore, to talk about 'Negative Non-finite Form'.

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1. Green and Igwe: Op.cit. p.169.

### T.3.3.6. Summary of Tense System

The Tense System of Igbo is summarized as follows, and illustrated with the verb *ivū* 'to carry/to lift', using the verb without a verbal clause.

#### I Positive:

- (i) Simple Tense                      *vù*
- (ii) Aorist Tense                      *èvu*
- (iii) Past Tense
  - (a) Simple Past Tense, Form I      *vùrù*
  - (b) Simple Past Tense, Form II      *vùùrù (vùrùrù)*
  - (c) Simple Past Tense, Form III      *vùùrùrù (vùrùrùrù)*
  - (d) Aorist Past Tense, Form I      *èvuru*
  - (e) Aorist Past Tense, Form II      *èvuuru (èvururu)*
  - (f) Aorist Past Tense, Form III      *èvuururu (èvurururu)*

#### II Negative:

- (a) Aorist Tense, Negative              *evū*
- (b) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form I      *evūru*
- (c) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form II      *evūuru (evūruru)*
- (d) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form III      *evūururu (evūrururu)*

### T.3.3.7. The Phonology of the -ra/E suffix

The 'past tense suffix' has the following phonological characteristics:

- (i) The vowel is usually assimilated to that of the immediately preceding syllable, whether the syllable is a verb root or another suffix, as in (36).

(36) (a) Anyị /gàrà/ ahyà. 'We went to the market.'

- (b) Unù /gùzòrò/ ọtọ. 'You (pl.) stood up.'
- (c) Hnâ /cìlìrì/ akwukwọ 'They took away the books.'
- (d) O /bèwèrè/ akwha. 'He began to cry.'
- (e) Ọ /thìrì/ akhalaakha. 'It grew tall.'
- (f) Ọ /lùrù/ nwaànyị. 'He married a wife.'
- (g) A /cọrọ/ gị. 'You are wanted.'
- (h) Ị /gāzùrù/ ebe dum. 'You went everywhere.'

(ii) Sometimes, however, the vowel merely harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable, being either -a or -e, as in (37).

- (37) (a) Ọ /tùìra/ òkumè nà mirì. 'He threw a stone into the water.'
- (b) Ọ /zùùra/ motò. 'He used to deal in cars.'
- (c) Ọ /cọọrà/ ịbyā. 'He had wanted to come.'
- (d) O /lùìrè/ mkpurū n'olù. 'He threw a seed into the pit.'
- (e) O /zùòrè/ ikhe ebe à. 'He used to rest here.'
- (f) O /vùùrè/ akwà. 'He used to deal in cloths.'

(iii) When the suffix is reduplicated or triplicated to express the Form II and Form III, respectively, the initial occurrence of it is normally abbreviated to an assimilated vowel, as in (37) above and in (38).

- (38) O /vùùrùrù/ akwà. 'She used to trade in cloths.'

However, when the form is emphatic, the suffixes are pronounced in full, but this is often avoided.

(iv) When the 'Intensive'/'Completive aspect' vowel suffix

-A/O (represented in (39) by the first -o) occurs, only one -rA/E and only two -rA/E can occur to express the Form II and Form III, respectively.

- (39) (a) òbí /vùòrò/ akwà. 'Òbí used to trade in cloths.'  
 (b) òbí /vùòròrò/ akwà. 'Òbí used to trade in cloths a long time ago.'

This means that when the 'Intensive'/'Completive aspect' (See Aspects) also occurs, and since its sense of 'completion' implies a sense of 'pastness' in the action represented by the verb, the full form of the Past Tenses are not realized, as in (40).

- (40) (a) Ezè /rìè/ nri. 'Ezè was getting himself fed.'  
 (b) Ezè /rìèrè nri. 'Ezè used to get himself fed.'  
 (c) Ezè /rìèrèrè nri. 'Ezè used to get himself fed a long time ago.'  
 (d) Ezè /èrie/ nri. 'Ezè should have got himself fed then.'  
 (e) Ezè /èriere/ nri. 'Ezè should have got himself fed before then.'  
 (f) Ezè /èrierere/nri. 'Ezè should have got himself fed long before then.'

#### T.3.3.8. The Syntactic Characteristics of the -rA/E suffix

The 'past tense suffix' has the following syntactic characteristics.

- (i) It can occur with all other suffixes, and follows all

of them except -ghI and -lA which it can either precede or follow (as in T.3.3.4. above), and the 'Comparative suffix' -rì which it precedes, as in (41). Only a few of the other suffixes with which it can occur are given here, and such examples are underlined.

(41) O mèrerrì nwanne ecī. 'It happened as long ago as two days ago.'

(42) O mèrisirì yà ruo tha à. 'He went on doing it until today.'

(43) O vutusèrè ngwongwo n'àlà. 'He took the loads down to the ground.'

(44) O mèghèrè yà ci ējie. 'He went on and on doing it until darkness fell.'

(45) O wètàrà ya. 'He brought it.'

(ii) It can occur in Non-finite verb forms - the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle (as in (46)), and in verb-derived nouns<sup>1</sup> (as in (47)).

(46) (a) /Imēre/ yā gārà èwe yā iwe. (Simple Inf.) 'To have done it would have angered him.'

(b) /Mmere/ yā<sup>^</sup>gārà èwe yā iwe. (Simple Participle)  
'To have been doing it would have angered him.'

(47) (a) /Òdhabhàrà/ n'iyi arūghì mma. 'Something that fell into the stream but did not lose its beauty.'

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1. cf. Green and Igwe: Op.cit. p.54. Where this fact is used to deny -rA/E any grammatical function.

(Riddle) ('Fallen-into+PAST into stream not lose beauty.')

(b) /Èmerēm/ o mètè ya wū nà e wūrù ùzò kwuọ yā ugwọ.

'That he did it was due to the fact that he was first paid for it.' (The fact of doing he did it was that one first paid him debt.')

(iii) It does not occur outside a verb form as a separate element in a verbal clause (as the -rA/E 'Benefactive Case' which is phonologically identical with it can do. See 'Case' 8.2.6. p.278 )

(iv) It cannot occur in the Imperative Clause type (as the 'Benefactive' suffix can do.)

These two characteristics -(iii) and (iv)- are some of the ways the two phonologically identical suffixes syntactically stand apart from each other.

#### T.3.3.9. Critical Statement about -rA/E 'past tense'

The view taken in this work about -rA/E (as well as a/e-) is that it is a grammatical suffix, inflecting the verb for tense. Miss Green whose opinion of all suffixes is that they are lexical and not grammatical calls it -ra (time). Other writers are divided on their assessment of its function. While some, like Julius Spencer, take it as a grammatical suffix, others like Dr. Carrell deny it grammatical functions, and others still are undecided. These include Adams and Dr. Ida C. Ward.

J. Spencer<sup>1</sup> writes: "There are eight tenses in Ibo - the Present, Indefinite, the Present Incomplete, the Past, the Past Complete, the Perfect, the Pluperfect, the Future, and the Future Incomplete." Then he gives '-lù' as the 'sign' of the 'Past Tense Indefinite', and '-li' as the 'sign' of the 'Past Incomplete Tense', and observes, "It should be noted that -lu is often loosely used with the Present Tense."

It should be said that -lu is the Onitsha dialect for the -rA/E suffix, and -li is the Onitsha dialect for the 'Comparative' suffix -rì. Spencer is correct in taking -lu as the 'past tense' marker, but is not about -li (-rì). His observation about the use<sup>of</sup> -lu (-rA/E) with a present time meaning will be discussed later with the statement of others on the same point.

Dr. Ida C. Ward uses the term 'Ra-form' and distinguishes three types of it which she calls 'Ra-form (a)', 'Ra-form (b)' and 'Ra-form (c)'. Her 'Ra-form (c)' is the 'Benefactive Case' suffix which she includes in the term 'meaning suffixes'. 'Ra-form (b)' turns out to be the 'past tense' suffix in Relative Clauses. Dr. Ward does not anywhere in her book explicitly call her 'Ra-form (a)' a 'past tense'; the closest she comes to it is on page 137 of her book where she says: "If on the analogy with meaning suffixes, we assume the tense

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1. J. Spencer: 'A First Grammar of the Ibo Language', pp.30-35.

suffix to be the final one, the past tense here has la instead of the usual ra as its tense suffix..." However, she gives the impression of being quite undecided whether to call it a past tense marker or not. She writes: "The grammar books call this form the past tense (i.e. "the construction which consists of verb root + a suffix (made up of r+ a vowel...)), at the same time pointing out that it is used very frequently to show present, perfect and even future action. Spencer calls it Past Tense (Aorist or Indefinite). Adams explains it as showing a state rather than a time of action. Whether it is present or past is generally indicated by the context, an adverb or phrase often showing the time of the action... A number of verbs which are mainly used in this form to express present time are frequently descriptive, e.g.

(48) O sîrî ikhe. 'He is strong.'

(49) O rère ùre. 'It is rotten.'

(50) O nwèrè eg'o. 'He has money.' ..... ''

The indecision of Dr. Ward, and the explanation of Adams (which is the same, virtually, as that of Spencer given earlier) arise from not distinguishing a grammatical form from its 'use'. A similar criticism applies to Dr. Carrell's statement. Dr. Carrell writes<sup>2</sup> (after stating the views of Spencer and

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1. Ida C. Ward: 'An Introduction to the Ibo Language', p.88.

2. Carrell: Op.cit, p.29.



Adams) "However, despite this designation (i.e. 'past tense'), it was clear to these writers that this 'past tense' so frequently refers to the present time and that often adverbs of time must be present if the sentence containing Assert (i.e. -rA/E) is to have a past-time meaning.

(51) O nwèrè eg'o. 'He has money.'

(52) Eci gāra āga o nwèrè eg'o. 'Yesterday he had money.'

(53) Jí jòrò njo. 'The yams are bad.'

(54) Eci gāra āga jí jòrò njo. 'Yesterday the yams were bad.'

Adams explains it as showing a 'state' rather than a 'time' of action. (He says) 'Thus plain (55) O gwùrù jí means "He digs yams", it is a statement without qualification or doubt; and therefore does duty for the absolute form of the present tense. O gwùrù jí 'with any word denoting the past or in answer to a question referring to the past.'

With regard to the use of adverbs of time, it simply is not the case that when the -rA/E 'past tense' suffix occurs an adverb of time "must be present if the sentence is to have a past time meaning". Such adverbs occur only if it is necessary to be specific about the time referred to. That is, it is not the occurrence of such expressions that gives the sentence a past-time sense but the presence of the suffix. This applies to (52) and (54) above. And with regard to (55), no native Igbo speaker will understand it as being anything else than a past tense clause. So Adams is entirely wrong in his explanations of it.

However, the suffix can occur in clauses with present time-reference, but this is limited to what Dr. Ward called above "descriptive" clauses. The clauses with such verbs have adjectival meanings in the language and the verbs express the 'state' which the object described 'has come to have' as a result of the action denoted by the verb. The logic of the clause is that the state attributed to the object is not immediately acquired but is the outcome of a process that took place before the present moment of utterance, and is represented by the verb/verbs in the clause. Sentences (48) to (51) and (53) (which are usually quoted to justify the use of the 'past tense' verb for present-time reference) fall into this category.

To use the Present Tense verb forms of the verbs in these clauses will imply that the objects have not acquired the states but will do so. Thus we get

(56) O sì ikhe. 'He will become strong.'/'It will become hard.'

(57) O rè ùre. 'It will rot (rottenness).'/ 'It is getting rotten.'

(58) O nwè eg'o. 'He will possess money.'

(59) Ọ jò njọ. 'It will become bad.'/'It is getting bad.'

Variant constructions with the past tense suffix are provided by Complex Clause Type II (See pp. 59, 72f), as in (60).

(60) (a) O rère ère. 'It is rotten.'

(b) Ọ nwùrù ànwù. 'It is dead.'

(c) Ọ chàrà àcha. 'It is ripe.'

Clauses like those in (60) are often transformed into a

type of adjectives via the Relative Clause. Thus we get (61).

- (61) (a) Àkwhâ rèrè ère. 'The egg is rotten.'  
 (b) Àkwha rēre ēre. 'Egg which is rotten.'  
 (c) èrèrèèrè ākwha 'rotten egg'

Fundamentally, the problem which linguists have encountered with the -rA/E 'past tense' with regard to its use to indicate a 'present state' is the result of unconscious dependence on translations of Igbo into English, and, concomitantly, of equating Igbo grammatical constructions directly with English grammatical constructions having similar meanings. This is skating on thin linguistic ice, as any translator will know.

It must be added that clauses with the suffix can have a future time reference, a kind of past-in-the-future. But again this is a matter of use, and this happens in hypothetical constructions as in (62).

- (62) Mā ùnù byàrà n'ùthùthù ecī mā ùnù byàrà n'ànyaàsnyù, unù  
 gā ènweta m̃. 'Whether you came in the morning or in  
 the evening tomorrow, you would find me.'

CHAP. 9AspectsAs.1. The Category of Aspects

The category of Aspect is set up to account for the grammatical function of the elements to be given below. The term is often used in a wide and general sense to cover "something other than, and additional to, temporal reference of the kind indicated by tense in verbal forms"<sup>1</sup>. For example, John Lyons says, "...the opposition of 'locative' and 'directional' (which is found in the case systems of many languages) is a particular instance of a more general aspectual opposition which might be called 'static' and dynamic; and ...as locomotion is to location, so acquisition is to possession, and 'becoming' to 'being'."<sup>2</sup> The term is, however, used here in a narrower sense, to describe the functions of certain affixal elements which when they occur in the verb "serve to indicate the manner in which the 'action' denoted by the verb is considered as being carried out".<sup>3</sup>

As said earlier, under Tense, Aspect is being considered separately from Tense for simplicity. But in addition to the need for simplicity of presentation, there is also the

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1. John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, p.313.

2. John Lyons: Op.cit., p.397.

3. Barbara M.H. Strang: Modern English Structure, p.141.

reason that Aspect does not belong to the same category with Tense, for as Lyons says, "Aspect, unlike tense, is not a deictic category; it is not relative to the time of utterance."<sup>1</sup> And although distinctions of aspect have to do with time, they "have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour."<sup>2</sup>

In Igbo, Aspect is one of the inflexional categories.

As.2. Number of Aspects recognized for Igbo:

The following six<sup>3</sup> Aspects are recognized for Igbo:

- (i) Imperfective - not overtly represented by an affix, but is cumulative with the Simple Tense form.
- (ii) Punctiliar - not overtly represented, but is cumulative with the Aorist Tense form.
- (iii) Perfective - represented by the suffix -lA (la/le).
- (iv) Resumptive/Continuative/Inceptive - represented by the suffix -wA (-wa/we).
- (v) Intensive (Compleitive) - represented by the vowel

1. John Lyons: Op.cit., p.315.

2. Charles F. Hockett: 'A Course in Modern Linguistics, p.237.

3. Professor J. Carnochan in 'Outline Analysis of Igbo', pp.69-74, recognizes six aspects as follows:

Aspect I - verb form without any suffixes

Aspect II - verb form with suffix -wa/we

Aspect III - verb form with suffix -ta/te

Aspect IV - verb form with suffix -ra/re

Aspect V - verb form with suffix -si/se

Aspect VI - verb form with suffixes -rite/rīta

In this work, however, the suffixes said to represent Aspects III to VI are regarded as Tense and Case suffixes.

suffix -A/O (-a/-e, or -ø/-o.)

(vi) Inclusive - represented by the suffix -rɪsɪ

A seventh aspect, the 'Iterative/Repetitive' aspect, might also be recognized. The aspect is realized by the suffixes -gidhe, -ghA (-gha/ghē), -kàta, and -mìte. But the view I have taken is that 'iteration' is a concomitant and secondary function of verbs, and is realized also by 'repetitive verbs'. Primarily -gidhe has 'adessive, locative case' function (see 'Case' p. 285), and the others (and 'repetitive verbs' also) realize 'number' in verbs (See 'Number', N.6.1. (i) - (iii)).

Paradigms of the aspects are given later on pages 162-165. The aspects are discussed one after another first before the paradigms are given, in order that they may be better understood in the paradigms.

Some general facts about the aspects are stated as follows:  
(a) The 'Perfective', the 'Resumptive', the 'Completive' and the 'Inclusive' aspects can occur in the Simple Tense, the Aorist Tense, and the Past Tense verb forms, in Positive and Negative Clauses and in the Non-finite forms - the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle.

(b) While the 'Perfective', the 'Continuative'/'Resumptive', and the 'Inclusive' can co-occur in a given Tense form, the 'Intensive'/'Completive' can co-occur only with the 'Perfective' and the 'Inclusive' aspects. It is mutually exclusive with

the 'Continuative'/'Resumptive'.

(c) The 'Continuative'/'Resumptive' and the 'Inclusive' aspects, and also the 'Imperfective' can concomitantly realize the plural idea in verbs, as indicated in N.6.(v) and N.6.2., p.215).

As.3. The 'Imperfective' Aspect: 'Progressive' and 'Habitual'

The term 'imperfective' as used here subsumes two related aspects - (i) 'progressive' and (ii) 'habitual'. Depending on the context, the same verb form, the Simple Tense or the Aorist Tense form, may have a 'progressive' or a 'habitual' meaning. Usually the 'habitual' aspect is specified by the occurrence of some adverbial expression. Thus when such a limiting expression does not occur in the verbal clause, and there is nothing in the situational context to suggest a 'habitual' sense, a 'progressive' meaning is normally understood.

The adverbial expressions whose occurrence indicates 'habitual' meaning, and which can occur in Verbal Clauses with any Tense form (as in (c) of (1) and (2)), are of the types (I) to (IV).

(I) Kwà+NP

(II) NP+dum/niile

(III) NP+Relativized Indefinite Clause

(IV) Prep.+(NP)+Relativized Indefinite Clause

Consider the following examples. (a) represents





to its tense function (as indicated under 'Tense'), it is not true, as Dr. Carrell alleges, that the Simple Tense form "represents the simplest tenseless, aspectless Igbo expression" in her statement: "Predicate phrase (AUX) VP (Time)(Place) AUX is later developed into a series of tense, aspect and other suffixes. VP stands for the verb phrase, and in the absence of AUX represents the simplest tenseless, aspectless Igbo expression. Time and Place at this level are not bound to the verb, that is, they are VP-components, not V-components..."<sup>1</sup>

Some more examples with the Simple Tense are given.

- (3) Ezè /vù/ oco. 'Ezè is/was carrying a chair.'
- (4) Adhâ /sì/ erimeri. 'Adhâ is/was cooking food.'
- (5) Ọjhi̇ /dè/ akwukwu. 'Ọjhi̇ is/was writing a letter/book.'
- (6) Anyị /nò/ ọdhụ. 'We are/were sitting down.'

As vù in (3) and nò in (6) show, the 'progressive' aspect applies also to verbs which express states ('stative verbs'), including the verbs iwù 'to be' ('equative') and idī 'to be' ('attributive'/'locative'), although sentences with them cannot be translated into idiomatic English by the use of 'is/was+verb+ing', which, however, uneducated Igbo speakers often do. Thus we get the bracketed forms in (6) and (7).

- (6) Nnà m wū ezè. (My father is being chief.) 'My father is a chief.'
- (7) Ọ dī arụ. (It is being heavy.) 'It is heavy.'

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1. Carrell: Op.cit., p.15.

Although their English is un-English, it is an accurate 'grammatical' rendering of Igbo.

As.3.1. The verb 'na'

It has become traditional and orthodox for Igbo linguists to say that the verb 'na' is used to express the 'progressive' or 'habitual' aspect, as the following quotations show:

"The Na-form (a) as a finite verb showing some kind of habitual or progressive action..."<sup>1</sup>

"...For every non-auxiliary verb form there is a corresponding auxiliary form, the latter usually having a habitual, or, in some contexts, a progressive meaning..."<sup>2</sup>

"...Igbo has two verbs that may be used as auxiliary verbs: na 'to pass, progress' used primarily to show the progressive or habitual; ga 'to pass, go' used to express the future."<sup>3</sup> \*

In the examples given above in (1) to (7), 'na' does not occur, yet the verbs have 'progressive' or 'habitual' meanings. This surely means that the 'progressive' or the 'habitual' aspect does not necessitate the occurrence of 'na'. If then 'na' occurs in some constructions but not in others, it follows then that it must have a particular function it

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1. Ida C. Ward: Op.cit., p.76.

2. Green and Igwe: Op.cit, p.142.

3. Carrell: Op.cit., p.31.

fulfils in those constructions, but which is not called for in the other clauses in which it does not occur. Because of the traditional explanation of the use of the verb 'na', of the frequency with which it is used, and also of the imperfect translation of clauses in which it occurs, it has not been realized that it has its own lexical meaning which is the reason for its use. It expresses what the English expressions - 'It is a fact', 'actually' express. Having its own lexical meaning, it can and does have tense and aspect like any other verb, although it is more limited in its distribution than other types of verbs (see VC.12, p.627).

Consider the following pairs of examples, with the verb 'na' fully translated.

- (8) (a) Adhā sī nri. 'Adhā is cooking food.'  
 (b) Àdha /nà èsi/ nrī. 'Àdha, it is a fact, is cooking food.'
- (9) (a) Àdhā sī nri kwà ànyaàsnu. 'Àdha cooks food every evening.'  
 (b) Àdha /nà èsi/ nrī kwà ànyaàsnu. 'Àdha, it is a fact, cooks food every evening.'
- (10) (a) I wū onye isī. 'You are a leader.'  
 (b) I /nà àwu/ onye isī. 'It is a fact that you act as leader.'
- (11) (a) I wū onye isī mgbè dūm. 'You are leader every time.'  
 (b) I /nà àwu/ onye isī mgbè dūm. 'It is a fact that

you act as leader every time.'

From these examples it should be clear that whatever 'progressive' or 'habitual' meaning the verb 'na' may have, it does so (in common with other verbs) because this is a peculiar property of verbs of whatever type. This is true not only when it has the Simple Tense form, but also when it has the Aorist form, as in (12).

- (12) Hna ná àcụ ànyị, ànyị /àná àgbà/. 'As they kept pursuing us, which was a fact, we kept running away, which was also a fact.'

Once again we can learn something from the literalness of the uneducated Igbo, who is always using 'really' and 'in fact' for rendering into English sentences with 'na' in them when his educated compatriot would neglect such fine points of grammar. Thus he would give (13) by the bracketed form, omitting the verb 'to be'.

- (13) Ọ nà àbaya. '(He really coming.)' 'He is indeed coming.'

So it is not true to say that 'na' is "used primarily to show the progressive or habitual (aspect)".

#### As.4. The Punctiliar Aspect

The aspectual implications of the Aorist Tense were discussed in T.3.2., p. 90f, so no further statement is necessary, except to draw attention to the fact that its 'effective' sense overlaps with the sense of the 'Perfective' aspect in some uses of it, hence the possibility of translating a sentence with the Aorist Tense with a 'perfect construction'

in English, for instance. Secondly, in both the positive and the negative forms the 'progressive' and the 'punctiliar' aspects are cumulative in the Aorist Tense form.

In the following examples, the various aspectual senses of the Aorist Tense form are drawn out by the translations of the Igbo sentences (14) - (17). The same form has different senses, depending upon the context.

- (14) Anyị òmò yā. (a) 'We are getting on doing it, as a matter of fact.'
- (b) 'We have indeed been doing it.'
- (c) 'We have indeed begun to do it.'
- (15) Anyị emē ya. (a) 'We are not indeed doing it.'
- (b) 'We have, indeed, not been doing it.'
- (c) 'We have, indeed, not begun to do it.'

From these full translations it will be seen that before now the full implication of the Aorist Tense form, from the point of view of aspects (as indeed from other points of view) has not been appreciated.

Often, when the 'effective' aspect is primary, the 'Perfective' suffix occurs, as in (16) and (17).

- (16) Anyị òmele yā. (a) 'We have indeed been getting on doing it.'
- (b) 'We have indeed begun to do it/ begun to be doing it.'
- (17) Anyị emēle ya. (a) 'We have indeed not been getting on doing it.'

- (b) 'We have indeed not begun to do it/  
begun to be doing it.'

#### As.5. The 'Perfective' Aspect

The 'perfective' aspect is marked by the suffix -1A (-1a/-1e). It has been treated as tense by most writers on Igbo<sup>1</sup>, but here it is being treated as aspect.<sup>2</sup> The reason is that in the use of the 'perfective suffix' -1A it is not the time of the action denoted by the verb that is primary but

1. e.g. Spencer, Ward, Carnochan, and Carrell.

2. Cf. Barbara M.-H. Strang: *Modern English Structure*, p.163 - "...We must examine the two aspectual terms we have introduced, durative and perfective. The durative, as positive term in a contrast, draws attention, where necessary, to the fact that an action is thought of as having (having had or to have) duration or continuingness... The perfective adds a positive implication of 'being in a state resulting from having...'; it indicates that the 'action' is thought of as having consequences in or being temporally continuous with a 'now' or 'then' (past or future)."

F.R. Palmer: *A Linguistic Study of the English Verb*, p.59 - "...the forms are to be classified as either perfect or non-perfect, the perfect forms being those that contain a form HAVE, which is always followed by a past participle... The term 'aspect' could be used to designate this category."

Martin Joos: *The English Verb*, p.138 - "This privative character of all the markers is curiously different in the case of the phase marker HAVE -N ... The name derives from the special relation between cause and effect signified by verbs in the perfect phase."

John Lyons: *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, pp. 313, 395f. "The term 'aspect' (which is a translation of the Russian word 'vid') was first used to refer to the distinction of 'perfective' and 'imperfective' in the inflexion of verbs in Russian and other Slavonic languages. The term 'perfective' (or 'perfect') is reminiscent of that used by the Stoic grammarians for the somewhat similar notion of 'completion' found in Greek... (p.313). "...the 'auxiliary verb 'to have'', which is combined with 'the 'past Participle' to form the perfective aspect."

the 'fact' that the action has been performed (in the case of positive verb forms) or not performed (in the case of negative verb forms). When the time of the action is also important or relevant, this is expressed by some time adverbial expression.

While the 'imperfective' is concerned with the duration or continuity ~~by~~ (or habitualness, in some cases) of the action represented by the verb, and the 'punctiliar' is concerned with either the ingressive, effective, or summary nature of it, the 'perfective' is concerned with the effecting of the action, and also implies that the effecting has results or consequences relevant to the present, past, or future time. The notion of 'being effected' may apply to a part or the whole of the action denoted by the verb, hence the aspect can co-occur with other aspects, as in (18), in which (a) - (d) respectively, include 'progressive', 'completive/resumptive', and 'inclusive' aspects with the 'perfective'.

- (18) (a) /Anyị̀ rìlè nri/ ògbè ọ̀ bhàtara. 'We were just going on eating food when he entered.'
- (b) /Anyị̀ rìèlè nri/ ògbè ọ̀ bhàtara. 'We had already eaten food when he entered.'
- (c) /Anyị̀ rìwèlè nri/ ògbè ọ̀ bhàtara. 'We had been continuing to eat food when he entered.'

- (d) /Anyị rìrìsìlàn nri/ ruo ūgbu à ọ bhàtàrà. 'We have been going on still eating until now when he entered.'

As.5.1. Subcategories of the Perfective Aspect

There are two subcategories of the Perfective Aspect, the second of which has not hitherto been observed and written about. The two subcategories are distinguished as follows:

- (a) Perfective Form I or Perfective I - represented by a single occurrence of the suffix -lA.
- (b) Perfective Form II or Perfective II - represented by a double occurrence of the suffix -lA; -lAlA (-lala/-lele).

The double occurrence of the suffix has the effect of 'locating' the event 'effected' further back in time. However, this does not mean that the resulting verb form has exactly the same meaning as the English 'pluperfect' construction which often translates it into that language. For the 'pluperfect' sense can be expressed in other ways in Igbo, for instance by the combination of the past tense suffix with the Perfective I suffix -lA, or combining the latter with the 'Completive' vowel suffix, though the latter combination does not necessarily have a past time meaning, unless the context implies this.

The contrast between the Perfective I and Perfective II is indicated by the differences in the meanings of the following pairs of sentences in which (a) represents Perfective I and (b) represents Perfective II:

- (19) (a) Òbí /zùlàn/ àkwà āzụ (mà m garule ahyā). 'Òbí had



been going on buying/begun to buy the eggs (by the time I had got to the market.)'

- (b) Òbí /zùlálà/ àkwà ǎzù (mà m garule ahyā.)` 'Òbí had already been going on buying/begun to buy the eggs (by .....)'

- (20) (a) Mgbè unu /kwèlè/ ya kwùo okwū, 'ya kwùonì. 'Since you (pl.) have allowed him to speak, let him speak then.'

- (b) Mgbè unu /kwèlèlè/ ya kwùo okwū, 'ya kwùonì. 'Since you have already allowed him to speak, let him speak then.'

- (21) (a) Anyị /èmele/ ọrnū. 'We have begun to do the work, as a matter of fact.'

- (b) Anyị /èmelele/ ọrnū, (kà anyị mechaani yā). 'We have already begun to do the work, as a matter of fact. So let us finish it then.'

In (22) and (23) the past tense suffix co-occurs with the perfective suffixes.

- (22) (a) Anyị /màlìtèrèlè/ ọrnū mà hna rutele. 'We had begun to work before they had arrived.'

- (b) Anyị /màlìtèrèlèlè/ ọrnū mà hna rutele. 'We had already begun to work before they arrived.'

- (23) (a) Anyị /àg'urula/ egwu dī òthù ahnū. 'We had in the past sung such a song as that.'

- (b) Anyị /àg'urulalà/ egwu dī òthù ahnū. 'We had at some remote time in the past sung such a song (but

we don't sing it any more).'

In (24) and (25) the 'completive' vowel suffix co-occurs with the perfective suffixes.

(24) (a) Ọ wụ Àdhā /rñùòlà/ ọrnụ hnā òthu à? 'Is it Àdha who has done (to completion) so much work?'

(b) Ọ wụ Àdhā /rñùòlālà/ ọrnụ hnā òthu à? 'Is is Àdha who has already done (to completion) so much work?'

(25) (a) Ọjhị /afùọla/ mụ ābya cèta yā. 'Ọjhị had gone out before I came to remember it.'

(b) Ọjhị /afùọlala/ mụ ābya cèta yā. 'Ọjhị had already gone out before I came to remember it.'

In (18) the occurrence of Perfective I with other aspects was illustrated. In (26) the occurrence of Perfective II with the 'resumptive' and 'inclusive' aspects are illustrated, the occurrence of the 'progressive' and the 'completive' having been illustrated above in (19) to (25).

(26) (a) Ọ /mēwelelele/ yā ci ābya jie. 'He had already been continuing doing it before darkness fell.'

(i.e. He has already been doing it off and on...)

(b) Ọ /merisilala/ ya ru ògbè ahnù à bya kwusì ya.

'He had already been going on still doing it up to and including that time before someone came and stopped him.'

#### As.5.2. Other Uses of the Perfective

(i) The Perfective is often used with the notion 'just', 'exact'/'exactly', 'barely' and similar notions, in such

expressions as the following:

- (27) *Ùgbu à kà Òbì lètàlà ọrny.* 'Òbì has just returned from work.' ('(It is) now that Òbì has returned (from) work.)
- (28) *Tha à kà m hnùlā yā mby.* 'I have just seen him for the first time today.' ('(It is) today that I have seen him first.')
- (29) *Onya à kà o nyèlèlè.* 'He has only given this person as yet.' ('(It is) this person that he has already given.')
- (30) *Mà o dele ụkwū n'ulò, anyị afùisịa.* 'As soon as he stepped into the room we all went out.' ('When/If he has touched foot in room we go out all.')
- (31) *Unù rìle yā.* 'Just get on and eat it, you people.'
- (32) *Unù rìlele yā (hnù ihyne ma gà ème).* 'Just eat it (pl.) (contrary to my instruction)(and see what I shall do.)'
- (33) *Còọla yā mby.* 'Just look for it first.'
- (34) *Còọlala yā mby.* 'Just look for it first before anything else.'

(ii) The Perfective suffix is also used to construct an Indefinite Relative Clause. The clause is constructed by making a non-subject element of it the head word and transforming the remainder of the original clause into an adjunct, such that monophonemic pronoun subjects take low tones while other pronoun subjects take high tones and the verb takes low tones, and noun subjects must have final high syllables before



- (37) (a) onye ò wùlà 'whoever (he is)'  
 (b) ebe ò wùlà 'wherever (it is)'

When the subject is also the head of the relative clause and is a noun and not a pronoun, the verb takes the normal tone relationship with the subject, that is, it has a mid-tone in relation to the subject, as in (38).

- (38) (a) Onye byāla 'whoever comes/came.'  
 (b) Ihnye āfōla 'whatever remains'  
 (c) Nkě kwēle imē 'whichever it is possible to do'

The verb can also have other aspectual suffixes and suffixes of other grammatical categories, but it is not considered necessary to demonstrate the fact.

#### As.5.3. The Perfective in Negative Clauses

The Perfective suffix -la has been taken by some linguists as a necessary part of the negative verb in the negative clause. Dr. Ward gives the structure of the Imperative, Negative as "Prefix+root+suffix -la (na in some dialects)"<sup>1</sup>. And Dr. Carrell writes, "The only true tense indicators in Igbo are two auxiliary verbs, expanded from aux by rule 2.44, and a 'present perfect'. I have analysed the present perfect into two morphemic segments, Vowel Suff (AO)...., and Pres. Perf. (la) for a number of reasons. First the analysis into two segments facilitates the description of changes which the

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1. Ward: Op.cit., p.110f.

imperative and negative transformations bring about; in certain instances Vowel Suff. is retained and Pres. Perf. deleted, in other cases Pres. Perf is retained and Vowel Suff. is deleted... Starting with Vowel Suff. as the basis for the imperative makes it possible to handle both the positive and negative imperatives with one rule. Simply stated, if the negative occurs,... Vowel Suff. is deleted; if the negative does not occur,... Pres. Perf. is deleted."<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, negation is not achieved by the use or necessary use of any morpheme in Igbo, but by 'intonation' - the tone-structure of the verb and the clause as a whole. (See Negative Clauses, pp. 56f). So the Perfective suffix is not a marker of 'negation'. Secondly, there is not an 'Imperative, Negative' or 'negative imperative' as a separately definable clause type in Igbo; but there is one type of the Negative Clause which may be used imperatively or non-imperatively. Thirdly, it is not true that the vowel suffix (which expresses an aspect) and the perfective suffix cannot co-occur in a negative clause, as Dr. Carrell suggests. Both can occur together not only in positive clauses but also in negative clauses.

To appreciate the function of the perfective suffix when it occurs in a negative clause, it is necessary to bear in mind what has been said about it in other sections above. Its

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1. Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igbo, pp.30,59; cf p.73

occurrence in the Negative Clause has already been set out under 'Negative Clause' on page 58 . A few more examples here will not be wholly out of place, however. So consider the following examples first of clause with a noun subject, then one with pronoun subjects.

(For the 'Question' interpretation, (iv), of the examples, see Interrogative Clause, pp. 54<sup>2</sup> ).

- (39) Òbi /erīle/ nri. (i) 'Òbi never ate food.' (Statement)  
 (ii) 'Òbi is not to eat food.'  
 (Prohibition/Command)  
 (iii) 'Òbi should not eat/should not  
 have eaten food.' (Comment)  
 (iv) 'Didn't Òbi ever eat food?'  
 (Question)

For the interpretation (iv) a deleted predicating question phrase 'Ò wù' is assumed.

- (40) (a) {Anyī} /ekwūle/ okwu. (Emph. by the tones of the  
 {Unu} pronouns)  
 {Hna}

- (b) {Ànyī} /èkwulē/ okwu.  
 {Unu}  
 {Hnā}

- (i) 'We/You/They never spoke a word.'  
 (ii) 'We/You/They are never to speak.'  
 (iii) 'We/You/They should never speak/should never have  
 spoken.'

(iv) 'Are we/you/they never to speak/to have spoken?'

(41) {Mu} /ekwũle/ okwu. (Emph. by the form of the pronouns)  
       {Gi}  
       {Ya}

(i) 'I/You/He never spoke.'

(ii) 'I am/(You) are/He is never to speak.'

(iii) 'I/You/He should never speak/should never have spoken.'

(iv) 'Am I/Are you/Is he never to speak/ to have spoken?'

(42) (a) {M} /kwũle/ okwu. (Emph. by the high tones of the  
           {I} pronouns)  
           {O}  
           {E}

(b) {M̃} /kwulē/ okwu. (Non.emph.)  
       {Ĩ}  
       {Õ}  
       {Ẽ}

(i) 'I/You/He/Someone never spoke.'

(ii) 'I am/You are/He is/Someone is never to speak.'

(iii) 'I/You/He/Someone should not speak/Should not have spoken.'

(iv) 'Am I/Are you/Is he/Is someone not to speak/ to have spoken?'

The occurrence of the vowel suffix with the perfective



suffix in a negative verb form is demonstrated by the following examples.

- (43) Ezè /ekwūole/ okwu òthù a gwàrà ya. 'Ezè never made the statement as he was told to do.'
- (44) Òbi /emēele/ ọrụ wā mà m rule. 'Òbi had not/ never finished the work by the time I got there.'

#### As.5.4. Distribution of the Perfective in Complex Clauses

In a Complex Clause, both of Type I and Type II (see pp. 59f) the perfective suffix may occur on one or both verbs, whether the clause is positive or negative. Consider the following positive examples.

(i) Complex Clause Type I.

- (45) (a) Anyị /nàlā èmele/ yā. 'We are indeed just getting on (just) doing it.'
- (b) Anyị /nàlā ème/ yā. 'It is a fact that we used to do it.'
- (c) Anyị /nàlā̂ èmele/ yā. 'We are indeed just getting on (just) doing it.' (Emph. by tone of first -la which is high).
- (46) (a) Anyị /gàlā ème/ yā. 'We are as a matter of fact doing it after all.'
- (b) Mgbè anyị /gàlā èmele/ yā, 'ya ābya. 'Just as we began to do it, he came.'
- (c) Mgbè anyị /gà èmele/ yā, 'ya ābya. 'By the time we are just ready to do it, he will have come.'

(ii) Complex Clause Type II:

(47) Anyi { /emele/yā/emele/. } 'We have already begun doing it.'  
           { emele/yā/eme. }

Consider the following examples of negative clauses, interpreted in only one sense instead of all the senses of the Negative.

(i) Complex Clause Type I

(48) (a) Anyi /anālā émele/ yā. 'We are indeed as a matter of fact not just getting on (just) doing it.' (i.e. We haven't begun to do it yet.)

(b) Ànyị́ /ànalà èmele/ yā. (Same as (a) or) 'We never, as a matter fact, really used to do it.'/'We were never really in the habit of doing it.'

(c) Anyĩ /anàlà ème/ yā. 'We never used to do it (but now we do.)'

(49) (a) Anyi {/agàl'à èmele/} yā. 'We are not going to do  
it yet.'/'We would not  
have done it yet.'

(b) Ànyị̀ /àgalā̀ èmele/ yā. 'We would not have done it yet.'

(c) Ànyì /àgalā ème/ yā. 'We would not have (done it.)'  
(begun to  
do it.)

(ii) Complex Clause Type II

(50) Ànyì /àkpolă/ ya /akpola/ ya āza. 'We had hardly called

him when he responded.' (i.e. 'No sooner had we called him than he responded.' (Lit.) 'We have not yet called him yet he answered.')

As.5.5. The Perfective Aspect in Non-finite verb forms

The perfective suffix occurs in Non-finite verb forms - the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle, and their Negative form.

- (51) (a) /Ijūla/ ya hnụ mgbè ahnụ gàrà àjọ njō. 'To have asked him about it then would have been bad.' (Inf.)
- (b) /Njūla/ a jūrù yà hnụ, ~~ive~~ ābya yā. 'As soon as he was asked about it he got angry.' (S. Participle) ('Just asking someone asked him of it, anger came into him.')
- (c) /Ajūla/ ya hnụ byàrà yà iwe. 'Not having asked him of it made him angry.' (Negative Non-finite),

As.6. The 'Continuative'/'Resumptive'/'Inceptive' Aspect

The alternative names given to this aspect is an attempt to state the shades of aspectual meanings which can be present in some of its occurrences. The name usually given to it is the 'inceptive' aspect, though it has been recognized that it "gives meaning of beginning, or sometimes of continuing, an action."<sup>1</sup>

The aspect is represented by the suffix -wA (-wa/-we). There are two subcategories of it, the second one being so far unrecognized. They are distinguished as follows:

- (a) 'Continuative' I - which is realized by the suffix -wA

(-wa/-we);

(b) 'Continuative' II - which is represented by the suffix -wAwA (-wawa/-wewe).

In its inceptive sense the aspect overlaps the punctiliar aspect in the latter's ingressive sense; and in its continuative sense it overlaps the imperfect aspect in its progressive sense.

Phonologically, if the suffix occurs preceded by a verb with a nasal or nasalized consonant, the nasality passes on to the suffix. (The same is true of the -rA/E suffix, and the vowel suffix (below), but not true of other suffixes.)

Unlike the ~~Complex~~ forms of the past tense and the perfective aspect, which imply remoter time-reference, the Non-Regular form of the 'continuative' implies later time-reference in addition to its appropriate aspectual meaning.

It may be interpreted by '(continuative)('resumptive')('inceptive')+ 'after all'/'afterwards'/'then' (or some such equivalent English phrase.

The contrast between 'Continuative I' and 'Continuative II' is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences, (a) representing the occurrence of I and (b) representing that of II.

(1) (a) Anyì /gàwà/ ɔrnɔ (mà ì byāghì ngwàngwà). 'We are setting off/will set off to the farm (if you do not come soon).'

- (b) Anyị̀ /gàwàwà/ ọ̀rụ̀ (mà́ byāghị́ ngwàngwà). 'We will then set off to the farm (if you do not come soon).' (implying, rather than wait indefinitely or sit doing nothing).
- (2) (a) Anyị̀ /zùwàrà/ ya, (Òbì ákwusị́ ǎnyị́.) 'We began to buy it, (but Òbì stopped us.)'
- (b) Anyị̀ /zùwàwàrà/ ya, (Òbì ákwusị́ ǎnyị́.) 'We began to buy it after all/seeing there was none other, (but Obi stopped us.)'
- (3) (a) Unù /mèwe/ yā. 'Begin to do it, you people.'/'Continue now to do it, you people.'
- (b) Unù /mèwewe/ yā. 'Begin now to do it, you people.'/'Continue now to do it, you people.'
- (4) (a) Unù /mèwēghị́/ yā. 'Begin to do it/Get on doing it, urge you.'
- (b) Unù́ /mèwēweghị́/ ya. 'Begin to do it then/Get on doing it then, I urge you.'
- (5) (a) Kà m/dewe/ akwụkwọ́ m nà ède. 'Let me continue writing the letter I am/was writing.'
- (b) Kà m /dewewe/ akwụkwọ́ m nà ède. 'Let me then continue writing the letter I was writing.' (implying since the reason for stopping is no longer valid).
- (6) (a) Ayị̀ /èriwele/ ihyně. 'We have begun to eat.'/'We have been getting on eating.'
- (b) Anyị̀ /èriwewele/ ihyně. 'We have begun to eat then/have been getting on eating then.' (implying, instead

of waiting indefinitely to get started)

The Continuative I is regularly used in greetings of encouragement to someone/people engaged in some activity. In such use only the 'continuative' sense is acceptable. The sentence is always in a question form, and the Aorist Tense of the verb is used. Also the perfective suffix normally occurs.

(7) Un̄ ar̄nuwala ɔrn̄? 'Are you going on working?' i.e.  
'I greet you at your work.'

(8) Ĩ gawala ahyā? 'Are you (sg.) going to the market?'  
i.e. 'I greet you on your way to market.'

Such questions can of course be also used in their ordinary non-greeting sense.

In the negative clause, and when accompanied by the perfective suffix, in addition to its normal meaning, the 'continuative' suffix can add a note of sarcasm to the clause, as in (9), when the clause is used imperatively.

(9) (a) Erēwele ya! 'Do not sell it yet!' (implying, wait  
until you can get the whole earth for it)

(b) Erewēwele ya! 'Do not sell it even now (with so much  
offered for it)! (implying same as in (a)).

#### As.6.1. Distribution of 'continuative' suffix in Complex Clauses

In Complex Clause Type I the 'continuative' suffix does not occur in the first verb but in the second, but in Complex Clause Type II it must occur in both verbs. This however is



- (b) /Ndewewe/ akwukwo wâ nyirî ya. 'Beginning then to write/Going on then writing the letter proved impossible for him.'

As.7. The 'Inclusive' Aspect

The 'Inclusive' Aspect is realized by the non-harmonizing bi-syllabic suffix -rîsî. It indicates 'action' begun at a prior time and continued (continuously or intermitently) to and including a later time (which may be the moment of utterance, a time in the past or in the future). This is the reason for the term used to describe it. This aspect, though in frequent use in the dialect, has not been recognized and described before now.

It has a ~~Simplex~~ and a ~~Complex~~ forms, but the ~~Complex~~ form is most frequently abbreviated to three syllables. The ~~Complex~~ form merely adds emphasis to the verb in which it occurs. The two subcategories are distinguished as follows:

- (a) 'Inclusive I or 'Inclusive-Simplex' - which is represented by the suffix -rîsî.
- (b) 'Inclusive II or 'Inclusive, Complex' - which is represented by the suffix -rîsîsî (rîsirîsî).

The later time which the 'action' includes in its span is often indicated by an adverbial expression of time, preceded by '(tùtùù)+irũ', 'up to'/'until up to'.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) (a) Òbî /mèrîsî/ ornu- ((tùtùù) ru ũgbu à). 'Òbi has been



working still till now.'

- (b) Òbî /mèrìsìsì/ ọrnu (.....) Same as (a) but emphatic.

- (2) (a) O /kwùrìsì/ okwu (ruo mgbè anyị làwàrà.) 'He went on speaking still right up to the time when we left for home.'

- (b) O /kwùrìsìsì/ okwu (.....) Same as (a) but emphatic.

- (3) (a) Òbì /āg'urìsìlā/ akwukwọ ruo mgbè ahụ. 'Òbì has been reading until then.'

- (b) Òbì /āg'urìsìsìlā/ akwukwọ ruo mgbè ahụ. Same as (a) but emphatic.

- (4) Òbì āg'urìsì akwukwọ. 'Òbì is not reading still.'

As.7.1. Distribution of the 'inclusive' suffix in Complex Clauses

In the Complex Clause Type I the 'Inclusive' suffix can occur on the first verb or the second, or on both. In the Complex Clause Type II, it must occur on both verbs. Since the ~~Complex~~ form merely adds emphasis, it will not be illustrated below.

Consider the following examples.

- (i) Complex Clause Type I:

- (5) (a) Anyị /nàrìsì/ egwù/ egwū. 'It is still a fact (up to now) that we are playing.'

- (b) Anyị /nà egwùrìsì/ egwū. 'It is a fact that we have been playing up to now.'

- (c) Anyị /nàrìsì/ egwùrìsì/ egwū. 'It is still a fact

that we have been playing up to now.'

(ii) Complex Clause Type II:

- (6) O mērisila yā emerisi mu ērute. 'He had already been going on still doing it before I arrived.'

As.7.2. Occurrence of the 'Inclusive' suffix in Non-finite forms

The 'Inclusive' suffix can occur in the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle, as in (7) and (8), respectively.

- (7) /Ijīdherisi/ ya mu ēmechaâ gwūrū yà ikhe. 'To hold it still until I had finished tired him out.'

- (8) /Njidherisi/ ya mu ēmechaâ gwūrū yà ikhe. 'Holding it still until I had finished tired him out.'

As.8. The ('Completive')/('Intensive') Aspect

The 'Intensive' ('Completive') Aspect is represented by the vowel suffix -A/O (-a/-e or -o/-o) which is conditioned as follows: if the final syllable in the verb has a close vowel this expands to A/O in accordance with vowel harmony, and if the final syllable has an open vowel, this is merely lengthened,

- |                      |                    |    |
|----------------------|--------------------|----|
| (1) (a) bīe 'cut up' | (e) znūo 'conceal' |    |
| (b) rīa 'hide away'  | (f) fūo 'go out'   | 1' |
| (c) lēe 'look'       | (g) dhōo 'arrange' |    |
| (d) wāa 'slice'      | (h) cōo 'look for' | e' |
| (d) wāa 'slice'      | (h) cōo 'look for' |    |
- CLOSE+OPEN  
OPEN+OPEN

There have been varied views expressed about the suffix. These will be stated later on here. For now it will be characterized without any reference to these views.

The alternative name 'Completive' given to the suffix is due to one of the senses it can have in some contexts, as this quotation puts it: "As to the meaning of this suffix, it adds a sense of completion to the action of the verb. But it does rather more than this in some instances."<sup>1</sup> However, the term 'completive' is not so happy a term. So the term 'intensive' is chosen because it goes to the heart of the meaning of the aspect expressed by the suffix, and is inclusive of 'the sense of completion'.

It has the following functions:

(i) It implies that the 'action' denoted by the verb is (was or will be) done thoroughly or exhaustively, hence the sense of 'completion'. Such verbs may be translated into English by the addition of the <sup>word</sup> 'up', although this is not always possible. In this sense it can occur in most verbs of the language, except those to be listed below. See pp. 148f. Its occurrence contrasts with its non-occurrence in a verb. Consider the following paired sentences; (a) represents the occurrence of a verb without the suffix, and (b) represents the occurrence of the same verb with the suffix.

- (2) (a) Eghu /ēri/ jī gi. 'A goat has begun to eat your yam.' (implying that the goat is still at it.)  
 (b) Eghu /ērie/ jī gi. 'A goat has eaten up your yam.'
- (3) (a) (I kwuḡ m̄ eg'o,) 'm̄ /ēme/ yā. '(If you pay me money,) I'll begin to do it.'  
 (b) (I kwuḡ m̄ eg'o,) 'm̄ ēmee/ yā. '(If you pay me money,)

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1. Green and Igwe: Op.cit., p.59.

I'll do it/get it done.'

(4) (a) /Dò/ eriri. 'Tug/pull at the rope.'

(b) /Dòò/ eriri. 'Pull/draw the rope.'

(ii) As the next step in distinguishing 'complete' from 'incomplete' senses of the same verb, the suffix sometimes distinguishes verbs derived from the same root, as in the following examples.

(5) (a) /Ji/ nwā gi aka. 'Get/Take hold of your child.'

(b) /Jiè/ nwā gi aka. 'Discipline/control your child.'

(6) (a) /Zni/ m̄ ihyne i m̀t̀àrà. 'Show me/Demonstrate to me what you learnt.'

(b) /Zniè/ m̄ ihyne i m̀t̀àrà. 'Teach me what you learnt.'

(7) (a) (O bèwèrè akwaha,) ́m̀ /ēnye/ yā ìkìkà. 'He began to cry and I gave him some biscuits.'

(b) (i) (O bèwèrè akwaha,) ́m̀ /ēnye/ yā ìkìkà, ́ya ājũ hn̄. 'He began to cry and I offered him some biscuits but he refused them.'

(ii) (O bèwèrè akwaha,) ́m̀ /ēnyee/ yā nri. 'He began to cry and I fed him with food.'

(iii) With some egressive verbs, the occurrence of the suffix implies forth and return, while its non-occurrence implies journey in the outward direction only. Such verbs are: ìgā 'to go' (=ijhē); ìbyā 'to come'; ìbhā 'to enter', 'to go into'; and ìfù 'to go out'.

(8) (a) Ọ hāfùrũ ānyị eci /ga/ Kàlāba. 'He left us yesterday and went to Calabar.'

- (b) O hāfūrū ānyī-eci /gaa/ Kàlāba. 'He left us yesterday and went to Calabar and came back.'
- (9) (a) O sīrī ebe à /bya/ ebe ahnū. 'He came there from here.'
- (b) O sīrī ebe à /byaa/ ebe ahnū. 'He came there from here, and returned.'
- (10) (a) Unū nò n'èzi, 'ya /àbhà/ n'ulò. 'You were outside while he went inside the house.'
- (b) Unū nò n'èzi, 'ya àbhàa/ n'ulò. 'You were outside while he went inside the house and came out.'

It should be observed that (iii) is another dimension of the sense of 'completion', but what is completed is a 'circuit'.

The sense of 'completion' or doing thoroughly implies also a period of time in performing the action represented by the verb. This gives the suffix another dimension of meaning which is applicable to all verbs, but in which sense alone it can occur in certain verbs; this is the fourth function of it. (iv) It implies past time, though it has no direct relation with tense, and in verbs which do not take it ordinarily it implies remote time. In this use of it, it is frequently (but not always) associated with the perfective suffix -la. In addition, an adverbial expression of time usually occurs with it, particularly the phrase '(nà) mby' 'formerly'/'before'.

The verbs which do not take the suffix with the meaning 'completion' are those verbs which represent events in which, semantically, 'duration' is not a necessary element of meaning,



(11) (ii)

(a) Òbi /āhny/ jī. 'Òbi began to roast yam.'

(b) Òbi /āhnyo/ jī. 'Òbi roasted yam.'

(12) (i)

(a) Ezè /āju/ iwè ya. 'Ezè has refused to take it.'

(b) Ezè /ājuo/ iwè ya. 'Ezè had formerly refused to take it.'

=(c) Ezè /ājuo m̄bu/ iwè ya. 'Ezè had refused sometime ago to take it.'

(12) (ii)

(a) Ezè /āju/ ajuju. 'Ezè began to ask questions.'

(b) Ezè /ājuo/ ajuju. 'Ezè asked questions.'

The verbs *inū* 'to get warm', *ihnū* 'to roast', and *ijū* 'to ask' are examples of the type of verbs which can take the vowel suffix to express the sense of 'completion' as well as the sense of 'remote time', according to the context. But to express the 'remote time' sense, an adverbial express has to occur obligatorily. Consider the following examples with *ijū* 'to ask' and *irī* 'to eat'.

(13) (a) Ezè /ājuo/ m̄ ya. 'Ezè has asked me about it.'

(b) Ezè /ājuo/ m̄ ya /mbu/. 'Ezè had asked me about it previously.'

(14) (a) Anyị /érie/ nrī gi. 'We've eaten (up) your food.'

(b) Anyị /érie/ nrī gi /mbu/. 'We had sometime ago eaten your food.'

As.8.1. Verb+Vowel-Suffix with 'remote time' sense

Verbs which have a remote time sense when the 'intensive' vowel suffix occurs with them are now given. There are 55 of them so far discovered.

(i) Class I verbs:

- (15) be/bo 'to be (only)' (Privative)
- (16) bho 'to place on (usually the head)'
- (17) bho 'to accuse'
- (18) bo 'to take unawares', 'to happen suddenly'
- (19) co 'to pause', 'to cease from'
- (20) co (to) 'to supercede', 'to be older than'
- (21) di 'to be' ('attributive', 'locative', 'existential')
- (22) du 'to accompany'
- (23) du 'to meet with'
- (24) du 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient'
- (25) fo 'to remain over'
- (26) fo 'to lift off' (e.g. a pot on the fire)
- (27) gwa 'to utter to', 'to express to'
- (28) gwy 'to exhaust/be exhausted'
- (29) hyi/hye 'to originate from', 'to begin from'
- (30) hna 'to be as... as' ('comparative')
- (31) hny (whny) 'to see', 'to find/discover'
- (32) ji 'to use' ('instrumental')
- (33) ji 'to have/possess'
- (34) ju 'to be full'
- (35) ju 'to refuse'



- (36) ka 'to be more than', 'to exceed/supercede' ('comparative')
- (37) kwe 'to agree/consent'
- (38) kwe 'to allow/permit/let'
- (39) kwe (#nkwhà) 'to promise'
- (40) kwu 'to be in the company of', 'to associate with'
- (41) kwu 'to be in company with' (e.g. in travel)
- (42) ma 'to know', 'to be/become aware of'
- (43) na 'to be a fact' (used as 'auxiliary verb' only)
- (44) nu 'to sense'
- (a) inū isnì 'to smell'
- (b) inū ihyne/nthì 'to hear (something/with the ear)'
- (c) inū ùfù 'to feel pain'
- (d) inū ùtò (ùcò) 'to taste/savour'
- (45) nye 'to give', 'to donate'
- (46) si 'to originate from', 'to begin from', 'to come/go from'
- (47) sị 'to utter', 'to give expression to'
- (48) tọ 'to be/get stuck'
- (49) vu (+ ụzọ/ùzọ) 'to be first'
- (50) vu 'to be the cause of'
- (51) wa 'to start from', 'to come/go from'
- (52) wu 'to be' ('equative')
- (53) yọ (lọ) 'to arrive back', 'to return'; 'to tend to'
- (54) yọ 'to rebound', 'to resound', 'to echo'
- (55) za 'to answer a call'
- (56) zni 'to show', 'to expose to view'
- (57) nwe 'to have', 'to possess'

(ii) Class II Verbs

- (58) bhā 'to grip'  
 (59) gū 'to refuse, decline'  
 (60) gū 'to pertain to'  
 (61) hnā 'to be/become equal/sufficient' ('comparative')  
 (62) khō 'to be hung up/hang up'  
 (63) kwhō 'to regard', 'to take account of', 'to defer to'  
 (64) kwhū 'to be suspended/suspend'  
 (65) kwhū 'to be/become putrid'  
 (66) nyī 'to be/become impossible'  
 (67) phō 'to be in a position' (usually in a line)  
 (68) phō 'to pop', 'to blister/be blistered'  
 (69) snō 'to be in company with', 'to associate with', 'to be involved in'  
 (70) zū 'to meet (with)', 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient'

As.8.2. Effect of 'Case' and 'Number' Suffixes on 'Intensive' Suffix

When the following 'Case' and 'Number' suffixes co-occur with the 'Intensive' suffix in the same verb (and they always precede it) the 'Intensive' suffix makes the verb have a 'remote time' meaning. This applies to every type of verb except 'na' 'to be a fact.'

(a) 'Case' suffixes (See pp.283f.)

- |              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| (i) -sa      | (vii) -g'o |
| (ii) -kwasa  | (viii) -tA |
| (iii) -gidhe | (ix) -IghA |

- |      |        |       |        |
|------|--------|-------|--------|
| (iv) | --ahna | (x)   | (-bhà) |
| (v)  | -lahna | (xi)  | (-jhe) |
| (vi) | (-dhà) | (xii) | -sì    |
- (b) 'Number' Suffixes (See 'Number', pp. 172f.)
- (xiii) -se/sa
- (xiv) -sì

Consider the examples with -tA (which will be the only suffix to be illustrated here). (a) lacks the suffix while (b) has it.

- (71) (a) Ȯ /hnūtala/ yā. 'He has found it out (for someone).'
- (b) Ȯ /hnūtaala/ yā. 'He had found it out (for someone) sometime ago.'

- (72) (a) I /mētala/ yā. 'You've got it right.'
- (b) I /mētaala/ yā. 'You had got it right sometime ago.'

In (71) we have the verb *īhnū* 'to see' which takes the vowel suffix for the 'remote time' sense, and in (72) *imē* 'to do' which takes the suffix for either the 'completion' sense or the 'remote time' sense. But the occurrence of -tA makes them both behave alike.

(71) (b) and (72) (b) invalidate the statement of Dr. Carrell which says: "The deletion of VowelSuff in the presence of Asp or MMS applies also to instances where the positive imperative and subsequential, normally distinguished by the presence of VowelSuff, occur with MMs or Asp."<sup>1</sup> For

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1. Carrell: Op.cit, p.74.

even in the imperative clause the vowel suffix can co-occur with the -tA suffix, though the resultant form gives the sense of 'before something else happens' - thus still maintaining the 'remote time' sense.

Consider the verbs *ibhàtā* 'to come to' and *ivūte* 'to carry to' (the two verbs which Dr. Carrell used).

- (73) (a) *Vūte yā.* 'Bring it (by carrying) here/there.'  
 (b) *Vūtele yā.* 'Just bring it (....) here/there.'  
 (c) *Vūteele yā.* 'Just bring it here/there before anything else should happen' (e.g. explaining of circumstances; protesting; etc, according to situational context.)
- (74) (a) *Bhàta n'ūlò.* 'Come into the room.'  
 (b) *Bhàtala n'ūlò.* 'Just come into the room.'  
 (c) *Bhàtaala n'ūlò.* 'Just come into the room first (e.g. 'You begin to tell me your story').

### As.8.3. Use of the Vowel Suffix with Simple Tense Verb Form

Except in the few cases of Imperative clauses, the vowel suffix has so far been illustrated with the Aorist Tense verb forms. But this does not mean that it can occur only with this verb form. It can also occur with the Simple Tense verb form. (See T.3.3.7 (39) and (40) (a)-(c), for instance). However, when the suffix occurs with a Simple Tense form, in terms of time-reference, the verb can only refer to past time. That is either to real past time or 'past-in-the-future'. Consider these other instances.

- (75) Àdhâ /ghèè/ àkàrà.. (i) 'Àdha used to fry bean-balls.'  
 (implying she does not do so any more)  
 (ii) 'Àdha will fry bean-balls.' (i.e. as a completed/  
 finished operation).
- (76) Ezè /zùò/ akwà (mà ọ ga Legòsì). (i) 'Ezè used to buy  
 clothes when he went to Lagos.' (ii) 'Ezè will buy  
 clothes when he goes to Lagos.'
- (77) Ọ còrò ikwū otù ihyne ahnù mgbè m /kwùòlè/ ya. 'He  
 wanted to say the same thing after I /had already said/  
 it.'

As.8.4. Neutralization<sup>1</sup> of the 'past tense' by the vowel  
 suffix

In (75) and (76), meaning (i) is equivalent to Simple  
 Past, ~~Complex Form~~ I with regard to time-reference. It is  
 a characteristic of the vowel suffix to displace and therefore  
 neutralize one occurrence of the past tense morpheme. Thus  
 we get the following correspondences, using the verb ịzũ 'to  
 buy' for example:

- (78) (a) zùrùrù (zùrùrù) :zùòrò 'used to buy'  
 (b) zùrùrù :zùòròrò 'used to buy a long time ago'  
 (See also T.3.3.7. (39) and (40)).

As.8.5. Occurrence of the vowel suffix in Negative verb forms.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics,  
 p.115, 253-4.

2. Cf. Carrell: Op.cit., p.73.

If the vowel suffix does not occur with a negative verb form, it is not because it cannot occur in such a verb form, but because the particular function of the suffix is not required in the particular instance of the negative verb form. When the particular function performed by the suffix is necessary, it does occur, as in (b) and (d) of the following examples with *ibhyà* 'to press'.

- (78) (a) ̀̀ /bhyabèghi/ yà aka. 'He has not pressed it with his hand at all, I insist.'
- (b) ̀̀ /bhyaàbèghi/ yà aka. 'He has never/not at any time pressed it with his hand, I insist.'
- (c) ̀̀ /bhyàlā/ yà aka. 'He did not at all press it with his hand.'
- (d) ̀̀ /bhyaàlā/ yà aka. 'He never at any time pressed it with his hand.'

Consider one more set of examples with *ithū* 'to look for', where (b) and (d) have the vowel suffix.

- (79) (a) ̀̀ /thughī/ ya. 'He did not look for it, I insist.'
- (b) ̀̀ /thuōghi/ ya. 'He did not look thoroughly for it.'
- (c) ̀̀ /thulē/ ya. 'He just did not look for it.'
- (d) ̀̀ /thuōle/ ya. 'He never looked for it at all.'/  
'He did not look thoroughly for it.'

It should be observed that, as in the case of the suffix *-la* discussed earlier, the *-ghi* suffix has no necessary relation with negation.

As.8.6. Occurrence of vowel suffix in Non-finite forms

The vowel suffix can occur in the Simple Infinitive, the Simple Participle, and various types of verbal nouns (See 'Nouns'), as in the following items.

- (80) (a) imēē 'to do to a finish', 'to do before something else.' (S.Inf.)  
 (b) mmee 'completely doing' (S.Part.)  
 (c) òmee 'doer (to a finish', 'one who did') (N.)  
 (d) mmēēmmēē 'busyness'; 'Multiplicity of engagements'. (N)  
 (e) èmeeē 'the fact of having done (completely)' (N)

As.8.7. Function of the Vowel Suffix in Imperative and Perfective Constructions

It has been erroneously assumed that the vowel suffix is a necessary component of both the imperative and the perfective constructions (as it was, equally incorrectly, assumed that the suffixes -ghI and -lA were necessary elements in Negative Clauses). So have Dr. Ward<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Carrell<sup>2</sup> assumed. However, they mention cases of verbs which do not take this suffix in those clause types, as they supposed, but were unable to account for the absence of the suffix. The reasons for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the vowel suffix have already been discussed at length above and will

1. Ward: Op.cit., pp.70f, 94f.

2. Carrell: Op.cit., pp.30, 59, 73-4.

not be repeated here. But what will be stated very emphatically is that no suffix of the language, including the vowel suffix, has to occur obligatorily in any construction type, whether imperative or non-imperative, positive or negative. Suffixes occur only where the particular functions which they indicate are present in the constructions.

With reference to the suffix under consideration, see As.8.2 (71) to (75) and As.8.5. (78 (c), (d)) and (79 (c) (d)) for examples of imperative and perfective construction with and without the suffix.

As.8.8. Other Functions attributed to the Vowel Suffix

Miss Green in 'Suffixes in Igbo'<sup>1</sup> writes: "It is true that suffixes are important modifiers of meaning. They are also used for stylistic purposes. But some of them give statement force to a verb form that otherwise would be exclamatory or used as a command. And some of them act as signals, distinguishing homonymous verbs or distinguishing verb forms which, in certain contexts, might be ambiguous... The open vowel suffix in the second example is suggesting which verb is to be understood..."

It should be realized that Green holds that all suffixes of the language are semantic elements and are not grammatical, consequently she endeavours to find various semantic uses for

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1. African Language Study V, 1964, p.95 - SOAS, London.



them in various contexts. In this work the contrary view of suffixes is held for the majority of the suffixes of the language. And from the facts of the language as one has found them, it has to be said that one runs a grave risk of very costly misunderstanding if one attempts to use suffixes stylistically, if by 'stylistic purposes' is meant that one can add or subtract them or use them anywhere he feels like doing so. It should be remembered that Christendom broke into two over a mere vowel of the Greek language. This is possible in Igbo.

With regard to "statement force...exclamatory...command", it can be said that the language has well-defined statement clause patterns and command clause patterns which do not depend upon the presence or absence of any suffix, unless the suffix is needed or not needed for grammatical purposes. And exclamation can be achieved in any type of construction without the use of any particular suffix - using such features as pitch, loudness, etc.

Referring to the use of suffixes, especially the vowel suffix, to disambiguate homophonous verbs, this cannot be entertained seriously after the study of the language in depth. It has been shown earlier that the suffix can occur with every verb of the language but with certain verbs - listed in As.8.1 - it can only occur in certain contexts determined by time-reference. Furthermore, if the function of the suffix

were to be merely to disambiguate homophonous verbs, it would be a most inefficient means for the language to use for such an enormous task. For this thesis a collection of 600 simplex verbs (i.e. uncompounded verbs) was made and arranged in sets of homophonous verbs. The number of sets came to 200. Out of these sets, 5 items had no homophonous partners; 70 sets had two items each; and the rest had from 3 items up, some having as many as 4, 5, or more. How then can the suffix distinguish between 3, 4, 5, or even more items that are phonologically identical? More than this, it was found that a number of the homophonous items could take the suffix, quite normally. Therefore disambiguating of homophonous verbs as a function of the vowel suffix must be discounted.

The true position is rather that homophonous verbs are disambiguated in constructions by the elements which collocate with them. Consider the following examples.

- (81) (a) zìe ozī 'give a message'  
 (b) zìe izizì 'tease out raffia fibre'  
 (c) zìe mīri 'drink water by sucking'  
 (d) zìe imī 'blow the nose'
- (82) (a) Òbi āzaala òkù. 'Òbi had at some time gone answered a call.'  
 (b) Aka āzaala yā. 'His arm has got swollen.'  
 (c) Àdha āzaala āhū. 'Àdha has left herself unready.'

In none of the sets above is one verb distinguished from the

rest by the non-occurrence of the vowel suffix, but by their objects (in the case of (81)) and by both their objects and subjects (in the case of (82)).

Another function suggested for the vowel suffix is that of making possible four conjugations of verbs in the language. This is the grammatical function which the suffix has, according to Professor John Carnochan. He outlines this view in 'An Outline Analysis of Igbo'<sup>1</sup> and in 'Word Classes'<sup>2</sup>. On the basis of this view he sets out Igbo verbs in four conjugations:

- (a) Conjugation I - high tone verbs/Class I verbs - non-expanding;
- (b) Conjugation II - low tone verbs/Class II verbs - non-expanding;
- (c) Conjugation III - high tone verbs/Class I verbs - expanding;
- (d) Conjugation IV - low tone verbs/Class II verbs - expanding.

Professor Carnochan was not aware that there was a third class of verbs. Including this, then we would get six Conjugations. The number is not, however, the crucial thing. What is important is whether or not the function of the suffix is to classify the verbs of the language into conjugational types. One agrees with Professor Carnochan that the suffix

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1. Op.cit., pp.74-77.

2. Lingua Vol. 17, nos. 1/2, 1966, pp.8-12.

has a grammatical function, but it is a grammatical function in the category of Aspect, as has been explained above. The reasons why it cannot be conjugational function as such (although it changes the form of a verb) are (i) every verb can have it, although when it can occur in a given verb is conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb; (ii) when certain 'case' and 'Number' suffixes co-occur with it the result in its sense is the same for all types of verb (As.8.2.).

It is to be noted, however, that Professor Carnochan has a category of aspect for Igbo, but the vowel suffix is not one of the elements in the realization of this category (See footnote 3, p.112).

#### As.8.9. Occurrence with other suffixes and its position

The vowel suffix can co-occur with other suffixes except the suffixes -wa/we or -wawa/wewe, and -ghA, -mìte, -kàta, - which are 'Number' suffixes; and its position is as follows, with regard to the grammatical suffixes.

(a) It precedes the following suffixes: -rA/E 'past tense'; -rA/E 'Benefactive Case'; -lA/lAlA 'perfective'; -bè 'Number'; -nị 'Reference' (in some dialects, like Okahyịlụg'à, it follows this suffix); -ghI 'insistence'; -nị 2nd person plural pronoun; -rị 'Comparative'; and -thà 'Probable/Possible'.

(b) It may precede or follow -kWA 'Reference', and -dị 'Reference'.

(c) It follows all other suffixes, that is, all 'Case' suffixes (except the 'Benefactive' suffix); 'Number' suffixes

(except -bè, -ghA, -mìte, and -kàta); and 'Comparison' suffixes (except -rì).

Since lexical suffixes always occur next to the verb root or form an unanalysable unit with the root, the vowel suffix always follows them.

#### As.8.10. Assimilation of the Vowel Suffix

In Compound Complex verb forms (See p 44 ), the vowel suffix occurring in the first component of the Compound form is assimilated to the vowel of the verb root in the cases where an expansion from close to open vowels normally occurs, thus making all occurrences of the suffix similar in process.

Consider (83).

- (83) (a) rièfùò → riífùò 'Eat some more.'/'Eat yet again.'  
 (b) ciàfùò → ciífùò 'Laugh yet again.'  
 (c) luòzuò → luùzùò\* 'Throw again to complete the number.'  
 (d) zuòzùò → zuùzùò 'Buy some more to complete the number.'  
 (e) kaàfùò → ∅ 'Say yet again.'/'Repeat.'  
 (f) reèfùò → ∅ 'Sell some more.'  
 (g) nyooòfùò → ∅ 'Peep again.'  
 (h) còòfùò → ∅ 'Search yet again.'

The same process of assimilation occurs also in some types of nouns derived from verbs, as in (84) and (85).

- (84) (a) òkwuù 'a talkative'  
 (b) òzuù 'buyer' (with reproachful sense)

- (c) òriì 'eater' (with reproachful sense)  
 (d) òciì 'ruler' (with reproachful sense)  
 (e) ògaà 'goer' (with reproachful sense)  
 (f) òmee 'doer' (with reproachful sense)  
 (g) ònyòò 'peeping Tom'  
 (h) òcòò 'seeker' (with reproachful sense)
- (85) (a) òkwuũkwuũ 'talkativeness'  
 (b) òzũũnzũũ 'buying' (frequentative)  
 (c) òriĩriĩ 'eating' (frequentative)  
 (d) òciĩnciĩ 'laughing' (frequentative)  
 (e) òngaaŋgaà 'going about' (frequentative)  
 (f) òmèemèe 'doing' (frequentative)  
 (g) ònyòònyòò 'peeping' (frequentative)  
 (h) òcòòncòò 'seeking' (frequentative)

As.8.11. Occurrence of the suffix in Complex Clauses

The suffix has not been found to occur in Complex Clause Type I. The -a vowel which precedes the -ra suffix in the *Complex Past Tense* forms of the verbs 'na' and 'ga' being the abbreviated form of the initial -ra suffix, as in (86). But the vowel suffix does occur in the Complex Clause Type II, and on both verbs in the construction, as in (87).

- (86) (a) 0 /nààrà àbyaara./ 'He used to come a long time ago.'  
 (b) 0 /gààrà abyaa./ 'He would have come.'  
 (87) 0 /riele/ yā /erie(le)/. 'He has/had already eaten it.'

As.8.12. Paradigms of the Aspects

With the explanation of the functions of the aspectual

morphemes given above, it is now possible to give simple paradigms of the aspects. The translations of the sentences will be as simple as possible, in view of the fact that some of the suffixes can have indirect time-references, and others can have 'number' functions too, and also of the fact of the uses of the Tense forms. Simple Tense and Aorist Tense forms are used, and both Positive and Negative sentences are used too. In the Negative sentences, the translations are given as for statement use of the negative. The nouns Ezè, and abọ 'basket', and the verb ivū 'to carry' are used in the paradigms.

Paradigm 1: Positive Sentences

(i) Simple Tense Verb form

- (a) Imperfective: Ezè vù abọ. 'Ezè is carrying a basket.'
- (b) Perfective I: Ezè vùlè abọ. 'Ezè has just begun/been going on to carry/carrying a basket.'
- (c) Perfective II: Ezè vùlèlè abọ. 'Ezè has already begun/been to carry/carrying a basket.'
- (d) Intensive: Ezè vùò abọ. 'Ezè used to get the basket carried'/'Eze will have had the basket carried.'
- (e) Continuative I: Ezè vùwè abọ. 'Ezè is continuing to carry the basket.'/'Eze will continue to carry the basket.'/'Eze will begin to carry the basket.'
- (f) Continuative II: Ezè vùwèwè abọ. 'Ezè will continue to

carry the basket then.'

(g) Inclusive I: Ezè vùrìsì abō. 'Ezè is still carrying the basket up till now.'

(h) Inclusive II: Ezè vùrìsìsì abō. 'Ezè is still carrying the basket ever since.'

(ii) Aorist Tense Verb Form

(a) Punctiliar: Ezè èvu abō. 'Ezè carried the basket.'/  
'Ezè began to carry the basket.'/'Ezè has carried the basket.'

(b) Perfective I: Ezè èvule abō. 'Ezè has begun to carry the basket.'

(c) Perfective II: Ezè èvulele abō. 'Ezè has already begun to carry the basket.'

(d) Intensive: Ezè èvuo abō. 'Ezè got the basket carried.'/  
'Ezè has got the basket carried.'

(e) Continuative I: Ezè èvuwe abō. 'Ezè continued to carry the basket.'/'Ezè began to carry the basket.'

(f) Continuative II: Ezè èvuwewe abō. 'Ezè continued then to carry the basket.'

(g) Inclusive I: Ezè èvurìsì abō. 'Ezè has continued still to carry the basket.'

(h) Inclusive II: Ezè èvurìsìsì abō. 'Ezè has continued still to carry the basket ever since.'



Paradigm 2: Negative Sentence (Statement meaning)

- (a) Punctiliar-Imperfective: Ezè evū abọ. 'Ezè does not carry a basket.'/'Ezè is not carrying a basket.'
- (b) Perfective I: Ezè evūle abọ. 'Ezè is just not carrying a basket.'
- (c) Perfective II: Ezè evūlele abọ. 'Ezè has not yet begun to carry the basket.'
- (d) Intensive: Ezè evūo abọ. 'Ezè did not get the basket carried.'
- (e) Continuative I: Ezè evūwe abọ. 'Ezè did not continue to carry the basket.'/'Ezè did not begin to carry the basket.'
- (f) Continuative II: Ezè evūwewe abọ. 'Ezè did not continue then to carry the basket.'/'Eze did not then begin to carry the basket.'
- (g) Inclusive I: Ezè evūrisi abọ. 'Ezè is not carrying the basket still.'/'Eze still does not carry baskets even now.'
- (h) Intensive II: Ezè evūrisisi abọ. 'Ezè does not go on still carrying the basket.'

CHAP. 10Time-ReferenceTr.1. The expression of time-reference

An exhaustive treatment of the manner in which the language uses the Tense forms and some of the Aspect forms given earlier will go far beyond the scope of this work. So what is intended in this chapter is to state briefly how the language uses the Tense forms in expressing present, past or future time-references.

Each of the tense forms - Simple Tense, Aorist Tense, and Past Tense - can have reference to present time, past time, or future time, according to the syntactic and situational context in which it is used. (The case of the use of the past tense with a present time reference was discussed in T.3.3.9. p.106f). So instead of talking about Present Tense, Past Tense and Future Tense, the procedure adopted is to show how the tense forms are used to refer to events in the present, past or future time.

It has been assumed that Igbo has present and past tenses but no future tense. It is probably more correct, in spite of Carrell, to say that Igbo has a past tense, and neutral tenses which can be used to express present, past and future time. This will be supported by what will be presented below. Aspects, except the perfective, are not taken into consideration in the presentation.

Tr.2. The use of the Simple Tense to express time

The Simple Tense is neutral in its reference to time.

It can have a present, past or future time reference. Consider (1) and (2) with the verbs *izū* 'to buy', and *inò* 'to be at/in'.

- (1) Ọ zù òkpú. (i) 'He is buying a hat.' (Present time)  
 (ii) 'He was buying a hat.' (Past time)  
 (iii) 'He will buy a hat.' ('Necessity' (Modulation)) (Future time)
- (2) Ọ nò n'ulò. (i) 'He is at home.' (Present)  
 (ii) 'He was at home.' (Past)  
 (iii) 'He'll have to be at home.' (Future)

To specify the time reference in (1) and (2) some adverbial expressions have to be added, if the situational context does not make it clear. Thus from (1) we get (3) and from (2) we get (4) by the addition of such adverbial expressions of time as enclosed in //.

- (3) (a) Ọ zù òkpú /ùgbu à/. 'He is buying a hat now.'
- (b) Ọ zù òkpú /eci mgbè m hnùrù ya./ 'He was buying a hat yesterday when I saw him.'
- (c) Ọ zù òkpú /eci dĩ n'ihnu./ 'He'll have to buy a hat tomorrow.'
- (4) (a) Ọ nò n'ulò /ùgbu à/. 'He is at home now.'
- (b) Ọ nò n'ulò /eci m byàrà/. 'He was at home yesterday when I came.'
- (c) Ọ nò n'ulò /n'abàlì àtọ n'ihnu/. 'He must be at home in three days' time.'

Although it was said above that the Simple tense was neutral as to indication of time (where there is no specifying

time adverbial expression) in general, however, it is taken to imply reference to the present moment of utterance, unless there is good reason to take it otherwise.

Tr.3. The use of the Aorist Tense to express time

Like the Simple Tense, the Aorist Tense can refer to present, past or future time.

It has a present time reference when it is used to set out a future event as already predetermined, or a past event as though it was happening at the moment of speech. And this applies to those forms of it which have the perfective and intensive aspects. It has this present time reference because of its punctiliar sense which is concerned with the fact of the event rather than the duration or period of it.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) Anyị̀ àga ahyā. 'We are off to the market.' ('We go market.')
- (2) Ezè èri nrī. 'Ezè eats food.' (i.e. he is at it.)
- (3) Anyị̀ àhny yā. 'We've seen it.' ('We see it.')

The Aorist Tense has a past time meaning when it occurs in a non-initial clause in a sequence of clauses, if the preceding clause has a past tense verb or a Simple Tense verb with a past time meaning.

In (4) and (5) the first verbs have past time meaning, and in (6) and (7) the verbs in the initial clauses have past tense forms.

- (4) Hnâ phò ihnu, 'unù /ephō/ āznū. 'They were in front and you people were behind.'
- (5) Ọ zù aznù, 'mụ /āzụ/ anū. 'She was buying fish, and I was buying meat.'
- (6) Ọ zùrù aznù, 'mụ /āzụ/ anū. 'She bought fish, and I was going on buying meat.'
- (7) Ọ kwùrù okwu, 'gị /ēkwuo/ (okwū). 'He spoke and you too spoke.'

However, sentences of the type of (4) and (5) can have a present time reference, as well as a past time one, thus requiring that the 'pastness' of the event be specified by a time adverbial, as in (8).

- (8) /Eci/ 'hnâ phò ihnu, 'unù ephō āznū. 'Yesterday, they were in front and you people were behind.'

To have a future time reference, again the Aorist must occur in a non-initial clause, and be preceded by a Simple Tense with a future time meaning. And if the context of situation does not make the time-reference clear, then an adverbial expression referring to the future will have to be added.

Consider (a) and (b) of (9).

- (9) (a) Unù gà ahyā, 'anyị àga (ahyā). 'You will go to the market, and so shall we too go (to the market).'
- (b) Eci, unù gà ahyā, 'anyị àga. 'Tomorrow you will go to the market and so shall we too go.'

The Aorist clause will have a future time reference also

when it is preceded by a subjunctive or conditional clause. But the conditional clause may need to be specified for future time-reference, as in (10) (b).

(10) (a) Ya rute, anyị̀ àkpọtụ gị. 'If/When he arrives, we shall call you.'

(b) Ya rute n'ụthụthụ, /ecī anyị̀ àkpọtụ gị./ 'If/When he arrives in the morning, tomorrow, we shall call you.'

Tr.4. Other forms for expressing future time.

In addition to the use of the Simple Tense and the Aorist Tense to express future time, two other forms are available for use in the language. This is by the use of na/ga plus another verb, the so-called auxiliary constructions.

It has been commonly held that Igbo used igā to express future, and inā/inà to express 'present continuous'. But what has not been realized yet is that these are not the only functions, nor even the primary functions of these verbs.

(On na, see VC.12, As.3.1; and on igā, see Modality and Modulation, especially Mod.8, pp.304f)

The use of igā for future reference is not controverted, what needs stressing is that such use is more complex than has hitherto been realized. In addition, the expression can have a past time reference, thus making it necessary sometimes for its future time-reference to be precisely specified.

Consider (1) and (2).

(1) Ọ /gà àza/ mgbe ọ wụl̀à m kpòrò ya. (i) 'He will answer

whenever I call him.' (ii) 'He would answer whenever I called him.'

- (2) Ọ /gà àza / ògbè ọ wùlà m kpòrò yà eci dī n'ihnu. 'He will answer whenever I call him tomorrow.

The na construction can have a present, past, or future time meaning. Consider (3), (4) and (5).

- (3) Anyị /nà èri/ ihynē. (i) 'We are actually eating.'  
 (ii) 'We do eat.'/'We eat.'  
 (iii) 'We were actually eating.'

- (4) Anyị /nà èri/ ihynē mà nnē lóta.  
 (i) 'We eat when Mother comes back, actually.'  
 (ii) 'We ate whenever Mother came back, actually.'  
 (iii) 'We'll eat when Mother comes back, actually.'

- (5) Hna /nà àgà/ ahyā eci n'isi ūthụthù. 'They are going/ will go to the market early tomorrow morning, as a matter of fact.'

The use of the ga and the na constructions to express future time is not as surprising as it appears to be. These two verbs are behaving like any other verb with a Simple Tense form. The only thing unusual about them is that they are combined with another verb with another tense, the Aorist Tense, but this, it has been shown, can have a present, past or future time use.

Tr.5. The use of the past tense

In addition to expressing a past time, the past tense can be put to the following uses.

(i) In a subjunctive or conditional clause (as in (2)) it expresses a hypothetical or unfulfilled condition, while in the consequence clause following a conditional clause (and having got the verb *igā*) it expresses an unrealized result.

(1) Unu /meere/ yā, 'anyì /gààrà/ ikwū unù ugwo. 'If you had done it (which you didn't do), we would/should have paid you (which we didn't do either).'

(2) Unù /jùùrù/ ya, ọ /gààrà/ igwā unù. 'If you had asked him, he would/should have told you.'

(ii) When it occurs in a relative clause modifying a time noun, such as *ngbè/og'e* 'time', *ehyì* 'date/day', it expresses past-in-the-future, as in (3) and (4).

(3) Ahnù m yà /ngbè ọ byàrà/. 'I must see him when he comes.'  
( 'I must see him when he came.')

(4) Ọ gà àgwa gĩ /ehyì ọ hnùrù ya/. 'He will tell you the day when he sees him.' ( 'He will tell you the day when he saw him.')

(iii) In descriptive clauses, it indicates a present state resulting from a past event, or process. (See also T.3.3.9.), as in (5) and (6).

(5) Ọjì à /gbàrà/ ùtù. 'This kola-nut is worm-eaten.'

(6) Osisi à /kpòrò/ àkpò. 'This stick is dry/hard.'



N.1. Number as an essential category of Igbo

The category of Number has been set up for Igbo in order to account for certain forms and syntactic relations which cannot properly be understood without the category.

Among writers on Igbo only two so far have endeavoured to give a grammatical account of Number in the language. These are Professor J. Carnochan and Dr. P.L. Carrell. Their views are briefly criticised below as follows.

Professor Carnochan is criticised on three points. Firstly, he says, "A grammar of Igbo could be written without bringing in the category of number at all, but my way of looking at the material suggests that it is indeed a useful category in the analysis of this language."<sup>1</sup> If by this he means that the category of number is peripheral in Igbo, then this is not acceptable. For there are a number of forms, and concordial features in existence in the language which make the category of number an essential category, but which were not in evidence in the type of material which Professor Carnochan used for his analysis.

Secondly, he limits the formal consideration of number and person to two types of structure as follows: "...The present writer believes there are formal criteria for setting

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1. J. Carnochan: "The Category of Number in Igbo Grammar" - African Language Studies III, SOAS, 1962, p.110.

them (number and person) up, although only with regard to certain structures, namely, verbal phrases of the types pronoun-verb and pronoun-verb-pronoun."<sup>1</sup> These two types of structure are only some of the variety of forms in which number is realized in the language in surface sentences, the level at which Carnochan considered the category of number and person. Adequate justification of these two categories is possible only at the deep level of grammar, because of the nature of their superficial representations.

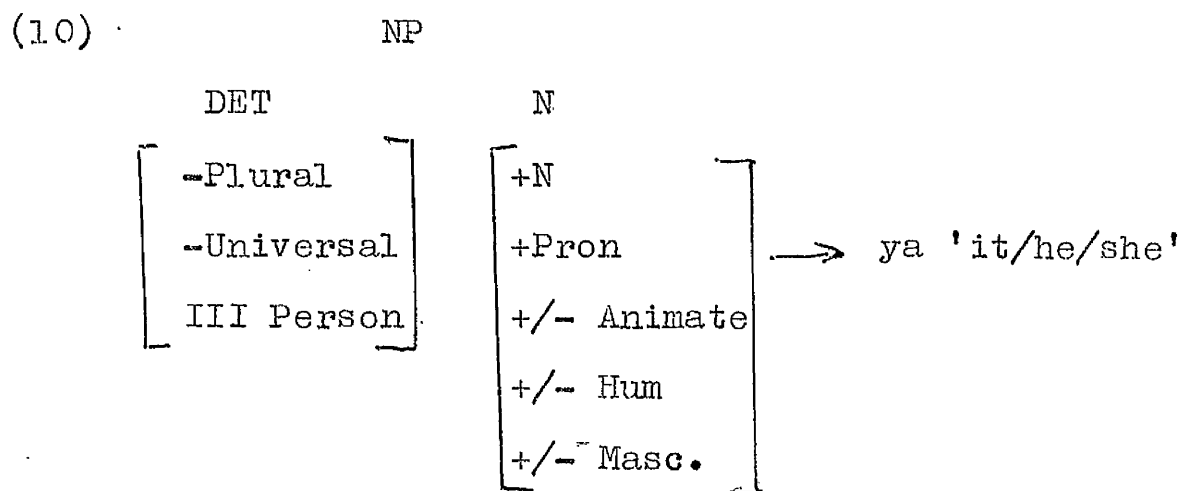
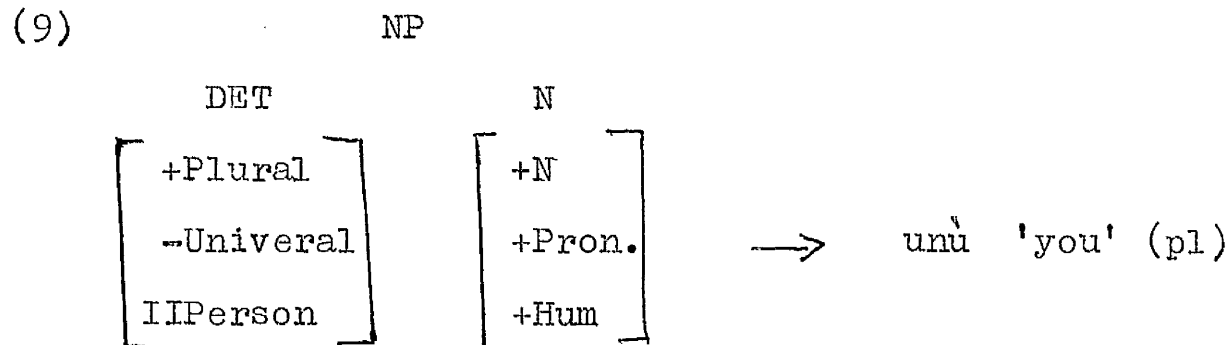
Number and Person belong in the category of Deixis, the category concerned with the orientational features of the linguistic event, and in its subcategory of DET (the other being AUX). So dealing with them entirely on the superficial level will not give a wholly satisfactory result, as Professor Carnochan himself was able to observe: "I will now give the facts that support the establishment of the category of person as a dimension of the verbal phrase and recognise that they are perhaps less satisfactory."<sup>2</sup> For, as Roger Fowler says, "DET and AUX are not categories to be split up into sub-categories, but complexes of features, some obligatory and some optional, which can be put together in various combinations which can be put together in various combinations which are..."

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1. Ibid, p.111.

2. Op.cit., p.111.

then associated in rather idiosyncratic ways with surface structure representatives. DET and AUX are obligatory. That is to say, there are always some features of their underlying meanings present in sentences, even where no morpheme marks the fact in surface structure... So DET is a set of abstract syntactic features... There are two mandatory features of DET in respect of which every NP must be specified: Number and Universality...in a simple rule... DET (Number, Universality)."<sup>1</sup> Thus, for instance, pronouns realize deep level features specified for DET and for N. Thus, for instance, ya 'he/it/she' and unù 'you (pl.)' realize features characteristic of DET and characteristic of N, as follows:




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1. Roger Fowler: 'An Introduction to Transformational Syntax' (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp.36-37.

The structures, pronoun-verb and pronoun-verb-pronoun, used by Carnochan, obscures the fact that in Igbo number is not a category of nominals only but also a category of verbs. This will be amply demonstrated later.

Furthermore, the structures give pride of place ~~to~~ pronouns (which are proforms) rather than to nouns, in the treatment of number, suggesting that number can be relevantly talked about only by reference to pronouns. But the number which a pronoun indicates is derived from the noun for which it substitutes.

Professor Carnochan set up a category of pronoun on the score that pronouns differ in distribution from nouns.<sup>1</sup> However, this is true only as regards Interrogative sentences, and even then only when the Interrogative sentence is derived from a Declarative sentence that has a noun as subject. In such a case, an appositional pronoun follows the noun subject in the derived interrogative form, as in (3) (b). (But see more on Pronouns, p.218f)

- (3) (a) Ezè kpù òkpu + Q. 'Ezè is wearing a hat.' + Q
- (b) Ezè ò kpù òkpu? 'Is Ezè wearing a hat?'

Apart from instances like this, nouns and pronouns have the same distributions. Consider the following examples, with nouns in (a) and pronouns in (b).

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1. Op.cit., p.113.

- (4) (a) /Ezè/ jì akwukwọ. 'Ezè is holding a book.'  
 (b) /Hnâ/ jì akwukwọ sị. 'They are holding books.'
- (5) (a) Ezè jì /m̀kp̣ara/. 'Ezè is holding a walking-stick.'  
 (b) Ezè jì /ya/. 'Ezè is holding it.'
- (6) (a) ụlọ /eghū/ 'goat-house'  
 (b) ụlọ /ya/ 'its house'/'his house'/'her house'
- (7) (a) /eghu/ ụlọ 'domestic goat'  
 (b) /ya/ ụlọ ('it house') 'it, the house'
- (8) (a) /eghu ēghu/ 'plenty of goats'/'goats upon goats'  
 (b) /ya yā/ 'all of it'/'it alone'; 'he alone/only'
- (9) (a) /eghu/ m̀bụ 'the first goat'  
 (b) /ya/ m̀bụ 'the first one (it)'
- (10) (a) Otù /eghū/ 'one goat'  
 (b) otù /ya/ 'one of it'
- (11) (a) /eghu ābụō/ 'two goats'  
 (b) /hna ābụō/ 'the two of them'
- (12) (a) /eghu ọma/ 'a beautiful goat'  
 (b) /ya ọma/ 'the beautiful one'
- (13) (a) Ụmụ /Ezè/ àbụō. 'Ezè's two children'  
 (b) Ụmụ /ya/ ābụō. 'His two children'
- (14) (a) Ụmụ àbụō Èzè. 'Two children of Ezè's'  
 (b) Ụmụ àbụō /ya/. 'Two children of his.'

In all these examples nouns occur where pronouns can occur, with necessary semantic differences, naturally. There is therefore no syntactic difference, other than that illustrated

in (3) between nouns and pronouns.

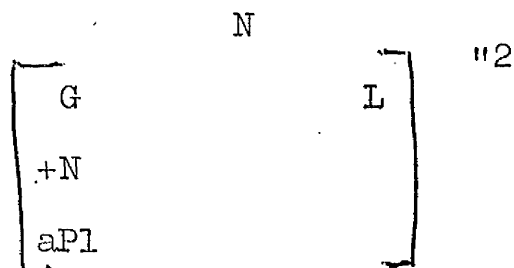
The third point for criticism is the three-term system for the category of number. This is based on surface features, and if adopted will make it rather difficult to characterize the category explicitly and simply. Professor Carnochan states his view, in these terms: "Some nouns, then, colligate exclusively with a singular verbal phrase, while the vast majority colligate with either, according to the situational factors. This suggests that it might indeed be useful to consider setting up the plural and common."

Dr. Carrell rejects the suggestion in these words: "Carnochan has based his suggestion on evidence from surface structure of Igbo only. If only the two categories Singular (-Pl) and plural (+Pl) are posited in the underlying deep structures for All nouns, the seemingly unpredictable colligation of the 'vast majority' of Igbo nouns with either singular or plural pronouns need not be explained by 'extra-linguistic factors in the context of the situation'. The choice of singular or plural pronoun is 'linguistically' conditioned on the basis of the occurrence of (-Pl) or (+Pl) respectively, in the deep structure when no pronominal reference is made, two distinct deep structures have the same surface structure... In Yes-No questions in Igbo, noun subjects are followed by an appositional third person pronoun with low tone. If three categories of number were recognized for nouns... it is impossible to introduce Ȯ (sg. pronoun) or hná (pl pronoun)

for 'common' nouns in the pronominalizing transformation because a meaning-change would be involved... The number agreement between nouns and pronouns is best accounted for by positing only two categories of number for nouns in the base, singular and plural...

In addition to providing linguistic explanation for the choice of singular versus plural pronouns, the feature (+Pl) and (-Pl) for nouns are necessary to explain number colligations with certain verbs."<sup>1</sup>

Carrell is correct in recognizing the two terms, 'singular' and 'plural' in the Igbo category of number. She is also correct in recognizing their deep structure origin. But she is mistaken about the category, in deep structure, of which (-Pl) and (+Pl) are features, because she assigns them to the N, as follows: "Therefore, two categories of number are set up for All nouns, including Carnochan's class of 'common' nouns. The grammatical member of the feature matrix dominated by the lexical category N always includes the feature (Pl).




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1. Op.cit., pp. 21-22.

2. Op.cit., pp.23, 19.

Carrell is constrained to assign  $\pm Pl$  to N because in her rule for the development of Nom she made DET optional:

"2.18 Nominal (DET) (Sent)

Rule 2.18 states that all Nom phrases consist of an obligatory Nominal element..., an optional DET complex..., and an optional Sent...

2.19 Nominal  $\rightarrow (N)N \left( \begin{matrix} \text{Numeral}_1 \\ \text{Numeral}_{pl} \end{matrix} \right)$

Rule 2.19 ... expands Nominal into (a) an optional noun, which, if chosen, overtly marks singularity or plurality of the Nominal and is restricted by subcategorization features to a certain class of nouns, (b) an obligatory noun, N, the head of the construction, and (c) an optional numeral."<sup>1</sup>

Since in her base rule, 2.18, DET is optional, it is difficult to see the origin of 'singularity or plurality of the Nominal' and also the origin of 'Numeral' which is a subcategory of Number.

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Carrell is as much dependent upon surface structure as Professor Carnochan in her treatment of Number. For as was said earlier, DET is an obligatory category which may or may not be overtly realized in surface structure, and when realized may take a variety of forms. Furthermore, DET has two obligatory features, Number and Universality/Definiteness. Whatever else may not

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1. Op.cit., pp.23, 19.



occur, these must occur for all instances of DET. And further dimensions are added to DET, such as Proximate, Numeral (Ordinal, Cardinal), Proportional, Quatitative, etc.

Therefore, an adequate treatment of Number in Igbo on the basis of deep structure categories must recognize the obigatoriness of DET of which Number is a feature and is later developed into surface singular and plural forms.

Another statement by Dr. Carrell calls for criticism. She says: "Although Igbo verbs are not inflected for number, some verbs are restricted to plural noun subjects. For example, *kàrìrì* 'be plentiful' ... If number were not recognized for all nouns, there would be no way to state the selectional restriction on this and other verbs."<sup>1</sup>

The verb *ikā* 'to be (Comparative)' can take a singular or plural subject NP and has nothing to do with Number, as See 'Comparative Sentences' action in the language is 'Comparison'. See 'Comparative Sentences' p.472 <sup>f</sup> Verbs are indirectly inflected for number through Aspect suffixes, and through the fact that they are the places where Number suffixes are often located in the Verbal clause, and they can, along with the nouns to which the suffixes relate, participate in the notion of plurality. In addition, there are verbs which are inherently plural in meaning, making it necessary for their

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1. Carrell, Op.cit., p.22.

subject or object to have a plural meaning if not a plural form. Thus Igbo can indicate plurality of action as well as plurality of objects.<sup>1</sup> The manner in which this is done will be dealt with below.

In conclusion, accepting the category of Deixis, and recognizing DET as an obligatory category in Deixis, as far as Igbo is concerned, two categories of Number - Singular and Plural - are recognized for the language. In what follows, the ways in which the category PLURAL is realized in surface structure are set out.

## N.2. The realization of PLURAL in Igbo

The form in which the notion of 'plurality' is realized in Igbo depends upon whether it is concerned with 'action' or with 'objects'. And when 'objects' are involved, the form which represents +Pl depends upon whether the composing 'objects' are conceived as a solidarity of individuals, a collectivity of individuals, or as individuated collectivity. That is, when a number of similar objects form a consistent group, or when a collection is viewed from the stand-point of

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1. Cf. H.A. Gleason: 'An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics', pp.237-8: "While it is probably true that number, for example, is most often basically a category of nouns, this is not necessarily the case. For example, in Quileute (Oregon) both nouns and verbs have plurals ... The latter two are not plural verbs in the sense that they are verb forms used with plural actors. Instead they indicate the plurality of the action expressed. There is no grammatical category necessarily associated with any particular type of word. Each language has its own pattern."

the individuals composing it, or when an individual is viewed against the background of a collection of objects of which it is a member, the language uses different forms to express the fact that in each case more than one object is involved. These matters will be dealt with in the appropriate places below.

In addition, the language expresses the plural notion of 'many-ness', 'few-ness' (paucal), 'two-of-the-same', 'three-of-the-same', etc. (dual, trial, etc.) ('Trial, quadrial, etc. are limited to some dialects of the language only). These subcategories of PLURAL are not dwelt upon in this work.

#### N.2.1. Plurality in Nouns

Plurality in the referent of a Noun is indicated by one or the other of the following forms:

- (i) Plural Nominals (nouns or pronouns)
- (ii) Quantifying Nominals (nouns, numerals and adjectives)
- (iii) Reduplicated Nominals (nouns and adjectives)
- (iv) Particles (affixal and non-affixal)
- (v) Plural verbs.

##### N.2.1.1. Plural Nouns

Excluding Pronouns (which will be dealt with separately), Nominals which have plural meanings fall into three groups as follows.

- (i) Suppletive plural forms.
- (ii) Simple Plural Forms.
- (iii) Inflected Plural Forms (derived by the inflection of

singular forms). (The items involved in (iii) are few and are restricted to some dialects of the language, though taken note of here.)

N.2.1.1. (i) Suppletive Plural Nouns:

These comprise the following:

- (1) ụmụ 'children' (nwa 'child')
- (2) ndị 'persons/things' (onye 'person'; ñkè 'thing')
- (3) ìnyèmè 'wives' (nwunyè 'wife')

ụmụ and ndị (See more below) are used as markers of +Pl. For this purpose they function as 'adjectivized nouns' and precede the noun which they modify. ụmụ may have, in addition, (and like nwa 'child', may have) the sense of 'little/small'.

Consider the following examples.

- (4) ụmụnwànyị 'women', 'womenfolk'
- (5) ụmụnwokhē 'men', 'menfolk'
- (6) ụmụtàkiri 'children' (=umuntàkiri)
- (7) ụmụmadhụ 'men'/'people'
- (8) ụmụmmūo 'ghosts'
- (9) ụmụathurū 'lambs'; 'little lambs'
- (10) ụmụnkītā 'puppies'; 'little puppies/little dogs'

The relation between ụmụ and the noun which follows it in such constructions as (4) - (10) is that of Adjunct + Head. The adjunct pluralizes the head. The two are written as one word. Where the relation is one of N + N, we get a genitive construction with the second N as the modifying 'possessive genitive' element, as, for instance, in (11) and (12). The

two nouns are written separately.

(11) ụmụ nwokhē 'the children of a man'

(12) ụmụ ụmụnyaànyị 'children of women'

As a noun, ụmụ hardly occurs as subject or object without a modifier unless it is used in the general sense of 'offspring', as in (13).

(13) Ụmụ nà àmụta ụmụ. 'Children beget children.'

ndị (like onye and ñkè) is a pro-noun. It can only occur when the noun for which it substitutes has already occurred, and it cannot occur as subject or object without a modifier, as in (14).

(14) Ebe ị còrò ịzụ /akwụkwọ/, zùrụnị /ndị à/. 'Since you wanted to buy books, then buy these ones.'

It is also used as a relative pro-noun (as onye and ñkè are used).

(15) Akwụkwọ /ndị/ m hnụrụ dī okhe ọnụ. 'The books which I saw were costly.'

In (15) ndị indicates that the subject 'akwụkwọ' is plural in meaning. But in such a clause as (15) ndị is a noun and the head of the relativized clause 'm hnụrụ'. When it is not itself modified, and functions as a pluralizer, it precedes the noun which it pluralizes, as in the following examples.

(16) ndịahyā 'traders', 'marketers'

(17) ndịornū 'workmen'

(18) ndịọbhịà 'visitors'

(19) ndịōznizni 'teachers'

It is used as a pluralizer of nouns for which +Human can be specified, and always used to identify, in the plural, people engaged in the activity or profession, as in the examples above.

It differs from *ndi* 'some' in that the latter can occur as subject or object without a modifier and refers to part of a number, whereas *ndi* has no such reference. *ndi* is equivalent to *ufodu* 'some'. Consider (20) and (21).

(20) /*Ndi*/ *tutara* eg'o /*ndi*/ *atuta*. 'Some contributed some money and others did too.'

(21) O *nyere* /*ndi*/ nye /*ndi*./ 'He gave to some and gave to others too.'

#### 2.1.1. (ii) Simple Plural Forms

(a) The following nouns usually have plural meanings:

(22) *uke* 'age-group', 'people of the same age'

(23) *ibe* 'companions', 'associates'

(24) *mba* 'community'; 'village of people'

(25) *ikwu* 'members of the same family'; 'relatives'

(b) Some morphological types of derived nouns which involve reduplication in their derivation have plural meanings. Two such types are exemplified by (26)-(28) and (29)-(31).

(26) *ngaannga* 'journeyings'

(27) *mmeeemme* 'doings', 'activities'

(28) *nlleenlee* 'spectacles', 'scenes'

(29) *nnyennye* 'acts of giving'

(30) *mmemme* 'doings', 'celebrations'

- (31) ñryàñryà 'illnesses'

These nouns also imply frequency in the action denoted by the underlying verb. (See Derivation of Nouns, pp. 347f-)

(c) The following items may be called 'Collective Nouns'. They are always used of a quantity of objects, but do not occur independently; they have to be followed by a noun representing the referent being 'quantified'.

- (32) ìgwè 'multitude' e.g. ìgwè athurū 'a flock of sheep'  
 (33) ògbàrà 'line/row (of)' e.g. ògbàrà eghū 'a herd of goats'  
 (34) ọthụ 'mass' e.g. ọthụ mādụ 'a crowd of people'  
 (35) ibì 'mass', 'swarm': ibì anū 'a swarm of bees'  
 (36) ùkwhù 'large crowd': ùkwhù namà 'a herd of cows'  
 (37) Ùkwhùtuùkwhù 'a large collection'; ùkwhùtuùkwhù akwukwọ 'a large collection of books'

(d) A fourth group of items consists of two pro-nouns. They are so called because although they can, like nouns, occur as subjects or objects, they do so only if the noun to which they refer has previously occurred. They are

- (38) ọtụtụ 'many' and (39) ùfọdụ 'some'

While (38) always refers to countables, (39) can refer also to mass things.

- (40) ọtụtụ àlà 'many countries'  
 (41) ùfọdụ ụlọ 'some houses'

#### N.2.1.1. (iii) Inflected Plural Nouns

The following items represent examples of noun inflection in a dialect of Igbo, Ibusa (Ìgbòuzò)<sup>1</sup> on the western side

1. I am indebted to Mr. M. Nolie Emenanjo, B.A., of the Oxford University Press, Ibadan, Nigeria. To this list is added an example from J. Spencer (A First Grammar of the Ibo

of the River Niger. The plural is formed by the substitution of the first vowel syllable of the singular, o-, by the vowel i-.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
(42) okèi 'man' (generic)	ikèi 'men'
(43) òkpòro 'woman'	ìkpòro 'women'
(44) òkènyè 'man' (old man)	ìkènyè 'old men' ('men')
(45) òkoloḡbià 'young man'	ìkoloḡbià 'young men'
(46) ochiè 'old man'	ichiè 'old people'
(47) òhènè 'a cult priest'	ìhènè 'cult priests'

### N.3. Pluralizing Particles

The following particles realize (+Pl):

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| (a) hnà           | (d) Ācha             |
| (b) sɪ/-sɪ        | (e) -kɔ              |
| (c) -sa (-se/-sa) | (f) -rɪ 'Comitative' |
|                   | (g) -Isɪ 'Erelative' |

#### N.3.1. The particle Hnà

The particle does not harmonize and always has a low tone. It follows the noun or noun-phrase associated with it, occurring after any other noun modifiers except a relativized clause functioning as an adjunct, as in (3).

- (1) /Òbi hnà/ èrutele. 'Òbi and company have arrived.'
- (2) /Nna ānyɪ ukwu hnà/ nɔ na nzùkɔ. 'Our masters are at a meeting.'
- (3) /Ezè hnà gāra ɔrnū / ālɔtala. 'Ezè and company who



went to work have returned.'

There is number colligation between the NP with *hnà* and the verb, if the NP is also the subject of the verbal clause. And there is number colligation between an overtly plural verb and an NP with *hna* which is an object of the clause, as in (4).

- (4) Ezè /kèlèsìrì Òbi hnà/ èkèle. 'Ezè greeted everyone of Òbi and company.'

Because *-sì* in the verb *kèlèsìrì* implies plurality of 'objects' (5) is ungrammatical.

- (5) \* Ezè /kèlèsìrì Òbi/ èkèle.

The fact that there is number colligation between the subject NP and the verb may be overtly expressed by the form of the verb, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) Òbi hnà èrutesìlā. 'Òbi and company have severally arrived.'

- (7) /Òbi hnà nọjùrù/ n'ulọ. 'Òbi and company filled the room.' (Òbi and company sit+fill+PAST in room)

Without *hnà* as part of the subject NP, (6) and (7) will be ungrammatical, as in (8) and (9) respectively.

- (8) \* Òbi ērutesìlā. \* 'Òbi has severally arrived.'

- (9) \* Òbî nọjùrù n'ulọ. \* 'Òbi filled the room (i.e. sitting in different places at the same time.)'

*hna* implies 'solidarity' in the objects of which the N associated with it represents a member.

The particle *hnà* should be distinguished from two forms

which are similar to it: the third person plural pronoun 'hna' 'they', and the suffix -hna. The latter occurs with an 'auxiliary verb' and implies 'INSISTENCE/EMPHASIS', as in (10) and (11).

(10) Hna ēnyele yā. 'They have given it.'

(11) Ọ nàhnā àbya. 'He is actually coming (Emph.)'

The three forms can co-occur as in (12).

(12) /Òbi hnà/ gāhnā ewèta hnā ùgbu à. 'Òbi and company are going to bring them just now (Emph.)'

### N.3.2. The Particle si/-si<sup>1</sup>

si/-si is a movable particle. It can occur as a suffix in a verb, or as a particle in an NP. It is a non-harmonizing class I morpheme. As a particle in an NP it takes a high tone if the preceding syllable has a high tone, and a low tone if the preceding syllable has a low tone. But as a suffix its tone depends upon the type of clause in which the verb carrying it occurs, as the illustrations below show.

Because of its mobility, it can pluralize a noun or a verb. And when it occurs as a suffix it can imply plurality of 'action' as well as plurality of 'objects'. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

(13) (a) Eghu àfùola. 'The goat has gone out.'

(b) Eghu àfùsiala. 'The goats have (each) gone out.'

(14) (a) madhù nò n'ulò. 'There is somebody in the house.'

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1. si/-si is equivalent to ga/-ga which occurs in the Onitsha dialect - cf. J.Spencer: "A First Grammar of the Ibo language" (1901), p.13.

(b) Madhù nòsì n'ulò. 'There are people in the house.'  
 In 'b) the subject NP implies more than one 'object', but the verb, as the result of the occurrence of -sì, may imply more than one 'action' also. This is clearly brought out in (15).

(15) O vùsìrì hna. 'He carried them.' (Implying several acts of carrying)

(See more below on Plurality in Verbs)

When -sì occurs, either the subject of the verb or the object must be plural in meaning, as in (13) (b) and (14) (b), or in form, as in (15). Consider these further examples.

(16) /Umùntàkìrì gùzòsì/ ọtọ. 'The children are (each) standing.'

(17) /Ibè ya ābyasìla/ ọrnū. 'His companions have (each) come to work.'

(18) Ọ /kpōtùsìla ibè ya./ 'He has called his companions.'

(19) Ọ /g'ōtasìla ndì ọrnū./ 'He has hired workmen.'

(20) Ọ /zūsìala akwà./ 'She has bought (different acts) cloths.'

(21) O /vùsì abọ./ 'She is carrying baskets.'

In (16) and (17) the subjects are plural in form; in (18) and (19) the objects are plural in form, but in (20) and (21) they are plural in meaning.

Consider the following examples<sup>1</sup> of the occurrence of the particle sì:

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1. Igwe and Green: 'Igbō Language Course, Bk III', pp.98-100, O.U.P.

- (22) Ebe wū nwa àlà obì ụlò ntà jùsìrì, na āwughī /ụlò ukwu sị/ mārā mmā... 'A place that is a small neighbourhood, not of fine mansions...'
- (23) ...nsùpya nà ntugharì òkè /okporo amā sị/ dī ihè nà /mbara sị/ anwụ nà àcha... 'The nooks and turns of shady lanes and sunny commons...'
- (24) ìnyìnyà sị, okhe ehynī nà nne ehynī sị, ụmụ ehynī ọhnuō sị... 'Horses, oxen, cows, calves...'

The use of sị or -sị indicates that the objects are conceived of as consisting of separated individual units but making up a collection. And the particle may be translated by 'each of', although this translation is not possible in all cases.

The particle, as a suffix, must be distinguished from the 'Dative suffix' -sị which always occurs as a suffix and is associated with the 'indirect object'. (See 'Case' p.248f) The two can co-occur in the same verb. In such an instance, the 'Dative -sị' precedes the 'Plura -sị' in the sequence of morphemes in the verb, as in (25).

- (25) Òbì resìsìrì m akwukwọ. 'Òbì sold books to me.' (Òbì sell+to+Pl.+PAST me book')

### N.3.3. The Particle -sa

The particle occurs only as a suffix in a verb, and harmonizes to -se, preceded by E vowels, and to -sa, preceded by A vowels. It pluralizes a noun which occurs as the direct object of the verb in which it occurs. Thus the object N

must be plural in form or meaning. It occurs with 'active verbs' and in transitive clauses, although the object may be transformationally deleted.

Consider the following pairs of examples. The objects in (b) are singular in form only.

(26) (a) Vùlie /àkpà./ 'Carry away the bag.'

(b) Vùlise /àkpà./ 'Carry away the bags.'

(27) (a) Wèlaa /ocō./ 'Take the chair home.'

(b) Wèlasa /ocō./ 'Take the chairs home.'

(28) (a) O vūtùrù /ivu/ n'àlà. 'He carried down the load to the ground.'

(b) O vūtùsèrè /ivu/ n'àlà. 'He carried down the loads to the ground.'

The object N may be plural in form, as in the following examples.

(29) Vùlasa /ocō sị./ 'Take the chairs home.'

(30) Cùlise /hna./ 'Drive them away.'

(31) O kùlise /Ọjhị hnà./ 'She has carried Ọjhị and others away.'

The use of -se/-sa indicates a plurality of objects from which individuals are singled out, hence the translation of the morpheme as 'one by one'.<sup>1</sup>

-se/-sa can co-occur with -sị, their co-occurrence indicating two different concepts of plurality: one in which

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1.

the objects are seen as made up of individual items, and the other in which the items are singled out of the collection, as in (32).

- (32) Ezè àcìlisesìlā efere. 'Ezè has taken away the plates.'  
(i.e. There is a collection of plates made up of individual plates and Ezè has taken one after the other of the collection away).

Observe that when the two types of suffixes co-occur, -se/-sa precedes -sì, as in (32).

The -sa form of -se/-sa should be distinguished from the 'adessive case' suffix -sà. The latter does not harmonize, and is correlated with a locative NP which usually occurs as an adjunct. In the following examples the 'number' suffix occurs in (a) while the 'case' suffix occurs in (b). The correlated NP is marked by //.

- (33) (a) Vùlasa /ivũ/. 'Carry home the loads.'  
(b) Vùlasa ivũ /n'ālā/. 'Carry the load away and put it on the ground.'
- (34) (a) Wèlise /akwùkwọ./ 'Put away the books.'  
(b) Wèlisa akwùkwọ /nà teblù/. 'Take the book away and put it on the table.'

When a locative NP occurs as well as the 'number' suffix, the NP is correlated to another form in the verb than the 'number' -se/-sa as in (35).

- (35) Wèlise akwùkwọ /nà teblù/. 'Take the books away from the table.'

Here /nà teblù/ is correlated to the verb root -li 'to move from'.

Although -se/-sa pluralizes the object of a verb, it may also imply plurality of 'action' as in (36).

- (36) Ezè gbùtùsèrè akalā nkwū. 'Ezè cut down palm branches.'  
(Implying several acts of cutting.)

#### N.3.4. The Particle -ko

It always occurs as a suffix, and does not harmonize. It is a class I suffix, and functions as a noun pluralizer. It indicates plurality conceived as the result of association of objects, hence it has been regarded notionally as expressing 'togetherness'. But the fact is that whenever it occurs, more than one object is implied, and this is grammatically expressed by a plural (in form or meaning) subject or object.

In the following pairs of sentences, (a) is ungrammatical.

- (37) (a) \*O bikò n'Àba. \*'He lives together in Àba.'  
(b) Hnā bikò n'Àba. 'They live together in Àba.'
- (38) (a) \*Òbí gùzòkò ọtọ. \*'Òbí is standing up together.'  
(b) Òbí nà Ọjhi gùkò ọtọ. 'Òbí and Ọjhi are standing up together.'
- (39) (a) \*Cùkọtaa yā. \*'Drive it together.'  
(b) Cùkọtaa hnā. 'Drive them together.'

In the following sentences the objects are plural in meaning though not in form.

- (40) Ezè àcikọtaala /ūwe/. 'Ezè has collected together the clothes.'

(41) Nnà yâ' nwekọta /ulō à./ 'His father owns these houses.'

When the object is a conjoined expression part of it only may be expressed and may be not only singular in form but also in meaning. But the remaining part of the expression is usually 'understood' and may be set out in full if necessary, and the -kọ occurs because this other part is covertly present, as in (42).

(42) Òbî jìkọ ya (nà ibè ya). 'Òbî is holding it together (with the others).'

Conjoined objects correlated with -kọ may occur as separate objects in different but associated clauses, as in (b) of (43), (44).

(43) (a) Ọ rìkọtàrà jì nà any. 'He ate both yam and meat.'

(b) Ọ rìrì jì, rìkọtaa anū. 'He ate yam, and ate meat along with it.'

(44) (a) Ọ zùkọtàrà akwà nà òkpù. 'He bought both cloth and hat.'

(b) Ọ zùrù akwà, zùkọtaa òkpù. 'He bought a cloth as well as a hat.'

### N.3.5. The Particle -cha

While hnà indicates 'solidarity' of a plurality of objects, sì/-sì a collection of separate objects, -se/-sa separate individual items 'out of' a collection, and -kọ associated items, -cha indicates and emphasizes the 'totality' of the items. But the totality may refer to objects or actions. Thus the occurrence of the suffix may express



plurality either in the subject, or object, or in the verb of a clause, or in all three elements at once. Therefore the clause in which -cha occurs is capable of more than one interpretation unless the situational context limits its application, or unless the verb is such that no plural notion is possible in connection with it, as in the case <sup>of</sup> 'gwu' in (45).

(45) Nkhu āgwuchaala. 'The pieces of firewood are finished.'

In the following examples the subjects are plural in form.

(46) /Ndi ahyā/ ālachaala. 'The marketers have all gone.'

(47) /Ezè hnà/ nwèchàrà ikhe. 'Ezè and the others all have the ability.'

(48) /Madhù niīlê/ byàchàrà. 'All the people came.'

In the following examples the subjects are plural in meaning, but not in form.

(49) /Akwukwū/ zùchàrà onye ò wùlà. 'The books went round everyone.'

(50) /Uzò/ jòchàrà njo. 'The roads are all bad.'

In the following examples the objects are plural in form in (51) and (52), but so in meaning in (53) and (54).

(51) A zūchaala /nnù akwà ya./ 'His four hundred pieces of cloth have all been bought up.'

(52) O wēfùchàrà /ndi ọjọō/ n'ime hnā. 'He took out all the bad ones from among them.'

(53) Ọryā ọkukò ègbuchaala /ọkukò ya./ 'Fowl pest has killed all his chicken.'

When the subject and the object of the verb are explicitly

singular in form and meaning, the application of -cha is limited to the verb only, as in (54) and (55).

(54) O mēchaala yā. 'He has done it all.'

(55) E rēchaala ya. 'It is sold out.'

But in a sentence like (56) the meaning of -cha may apply to the subject, verb, or object.

(56) Anyị g'ụchàrà akwụkwọ yā.

(a) 'We all read his book.'

(b) 'We all read through his book.'

(c) 'We all read through all his books.'

(d) 'We read all his books.'

(e) 'We read through his book.'

(f) 'We read through all his books.'

-cha sometimes occurs with a noun or pronoun. Such an expression is usually introduced by the conjunction 'mà', and expresses the inclusiveness and comprehensiveness of the action denoted by the verb, as in the following examples.

(57) Ò nyèrè /mà Ènì chà?/ 'Did he so give as to include even Ènì?'

(58) O nyèrè /mà ya cha./ 'He so gave as to include even him.'

Observe that the tone of -cha as a particle following a noun or pronoun is determined by the tone of the preceding syllable, as in (57) and (58). In Onitsha dialect we get ñcha for 'all':

(59) fa ñcha 'all of them'

(60) ñgbè ñcha 'always,' 'at all times'

(61) ụnyù ñcha 'you all', 'all of you'

### N.3.6. The 'Comitative' -rI

Detailed discussion of the suffix -rI has been done under 'Case', page 248f. There too the fact that its use indicates plurality, among other things, was touched upon. Its use implies plurality of action and of objects. The verb in which it occurs always has a plural meaning, as in (62).

- (62) Ọ /bòrìrì/ ọrnu. 'She went on and on weeding the farm herself.'

When more than one person or thing are involved in the action denoted by the verb, the subject of the verb must be plural in form, one of the forms being a conjoined expression.

- (63) /Òbí nà Ezè/ kwèrìtára n'aka. 'Òbí and Ezè greeted each other by handshakes.'
- (64) /Nnà hnà/ gb\_àrìrì ìzùzù. 'Father and others consulted together.'
- (65) /Anyì/ kwùrìrì okwu. 'We discussed together.'

If the object, when present, is a countable noun, plurality is implied and this may be expressed by a plural noun form or by a singular form with a plural meaning.

- (66) Ọkúkọ nà atùrì /úkwhaòrù./ 'The hen is picking up the grains of corn.'
- (67) Àdha nà ewèrì /akwà ndị à./ 'Àdha is taking these cloths for herself.'

### N.3.7. The 'Elativ' Suffix -IsI

This case suffix is dealt with in detail under 'Case',

pp. 248f. In intransitive clauses, it implies plurality in the subject NP, if the noun is countable, or mass if the noun is not countable, as in (67) (a) and (b). So the noun must be plural in form or meaning. If the clause is a transitive clause, it implies plurality in the object, but not necessarily in the subject noun, as in (67) (c) and (d).

(67) (a) /ɔjhi hnà/ afùisịala n'ama. 'ɔjhi and company have all gone out to the square.'

(b) /Ehyni/ āgbaịsịala n'ama. 'The cows have all run out to the square.'

(c) Ezè èreisiele /hnā/. 'Eze has sold all of them.'

(d) Ezè èreisiele /akwukwo./ 'Eze has sold all the books.'

#### N.4. Pluralization of Nouns by Reduplication

It was indicated in N.2.1.1. (ii) (b) that nouns derived from verbs by (re)duplication have plural meanings. The process of pluralization by (re)duplication applies also to underived nouns. Professor R.H. Robins observes: the same phenomenon in some other languages: "In Malay, Sundanese, and other Malayopolynesian languages, the reduplication of entire word forms is a regular means of forming noun plurals (it also serves other grammatical purposes)."<sup>1</sup>

Consider the following examples:

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1. R.H. Robins, 'General Linguistics - An Introductory Survey', p.213.

- (68) /Edē èdè/ jùrù n'òrnụ yā. 'Her farm is full of  
cocoyams.' ('Cocoyam (upon) cocoyam fill her farm.')
- (69) ọ zùrù /àkwà ãkwà./ 'She bought (plenty of) eggs.'  
('She bought egg (upon) egg.')
- (70) Ụlọ ya wū /akwụkwọ ãkwụkwọ./ 'His house is full of  
books.' ('His house is (full of) book (upon) book.')

These noun + noun phrases constitute a type of Noun Phrase, and is different from other types of the same class by being composed of a repetition of the same morpheme. Apart from indicating 'more than one of the same thing', with certain types of nouns the construction can function as an adverb, as in (71) and (72).

- (71) Anyị byàrà /ọsọ ọsọ/. 'We came quickly/soon.' ('We came run run.')
- (72) Ọ kwùrù okwu /ikhe ìkhe./ 'He spoke forcefully.' ('He spoke power power.')

Other types of the Noun Phrase are composed as follows:

- (a) Noun 1 + Noun 2 e.g. (73) onye isī 'headman'
- (b) Noun + Pronoun e.g. (74) ég'ọ yā 'his money'
- (c) Noun + Adjective e.g. (75) onye mkpụmkpụ 'a short man'
- (d) Noun + Relative Clause Adjunct e.g. (76) ndị nwě yā  
'the people who own it.'

The type which is represented by (a) has been described in three different ways: 'nouns in genitival relationship',<sup>1</sup>

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1. Green and Igwe: A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo, p.20.f.

'Completive phrase'<sup>1</sup>, and 'Associative construction'<sup>2</sup>. These terms are unsuitable for the construction and can give quite misleading impressions of the relationship between the terms in the construction, to say nothing of the meaning of the construction. 'Associative construction' is too general and therefore vague, since there is always some form of association between elements in a construction of any type. 'Completive phrase' does not indicate in what sense the phrase is 'completive' and which of the elements is completive of the other. And 'nouns in genitival relationship' is semantically and grammatically too precise, because of its analogy with the English 'of genitive' construction, suggesting as it does, that the meaning of the second element is one of 'possession', whereas this is not always the case, as (77) to (80) show.

(77) ɔ̀lɔ̌ eghū 'goat-house'

(78) ʔakwha ahyā 'market-egg'; 'egg for sale'

(79) ahyā ʔakwha 'egg-market'; 'price of egg'

(80) ɔ̀lɔ̌ ʔalà 'Low(er) house'; 'Àlà's house'

With regard to the term 'genitival relationship' note should be taken of Strang's statement: "Any attempt to sum up 'the meaning' of the genitive is doomed. It is hard to

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1. Jan Voorhoeve and others: Journal of West African Languages vol. vi, no.2, 1969, pp. 79-84.

2. Welmers and Welmers International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.35, No.4, p.316.

get nearer to it than to say that it conveys a relationship which may be of possession, origin, consisting of, association with or concerning (directed towards). Genitives commonly occur in collocation with another noun-like word, which provides the second term in the relationship."<sup>1</sup> Anderson speaks in a similar vein: "Clearly, 'genitive' constructions represent a superficial neutralization of a large range of (in some cases quite complex) underlying relations, and if there is a basic (non-derived) 'genitive' relation as such, it is presumably partitive."<sup>2</sup>

It would be preferable to call all the types of phrases given above simply by the term Noun Phrase, and then to describe the composition, including tones, of each type. The noun 1 + noun 1 which is the primary concern here differs from the noun 1 + noun 2 type in that the tone-structure of it is fixed: Class I and Class II nouns in second positions have mid-tones on their first syllables relative to the word in first position; as in (69) and (70); and Class III and Class IV nouns in second position have low-low tones, as in (68) and (81) respectively.

(81) `enwo `enwò 'monkeys'/'plenty of monkeys'

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1. Barbara M.H. Strang: Modern English Structure, p.109.

2. John M. Anderson: The Grammar of Case, p.114.

#### N.4.1. Reduplication of Adjectives

Adjectives can be reduplicated to indicate plurality in the referent represented by the noun which the adjectives qualify. But the reduplication applies only to adjectives which can occur in pre-head position, or can occur as predicate Complements. This therefore rules out such adjectives as *oma* 'good', *ocha* 'white', *ukwu* 'big' and *ojojo* 'bad', and other adjectives which can only occur as adjuncts in NP's and post-nominally too. This latter syntactic type of adjectives are reduplicated along with their heads, whereas in the case of the first type only the adjective is reduplicated.

The reduplication additionally gives the sense of emphasis (as 'reduplication' generally does in the language), but the fact that plurality is implied is made explicit in the following ways.

(i) If the NP with the adjective is referred to anaphorically, the reference element must have a plural form, even when the Noun in the NP is singular in form. Adjectives are underlined in the examples below.

(82) *o zùrù /akhalaakha akhalaakha ogùgù. //Hnà/ ràrà ahụ*  
*n'òvuvu.* 'He bought long bamboos. They were  
difficult to carry.'

(83) */Ogwoghoró ogwoghoró òkoroobhyà //ndị/ byāra, ọnòdhù*  
*abhaghị /hna/.* 'There were not sufficient seats for  
the hefty youths who attended.' 'The hefty youths who  
came, seats did not contain them.')



(ii) If the adjective occurs as an attributive Complement, the attribuant, being a subject, usually has a plural form, as in (84) and (85), or the verb takes a plural-marking suffix, as in (86) and (87).

(84) /Hnā/ dī /ntā ntā/. 'They are all small.'

(85)- /Nkwu ndi à/ dī /oloriri òloriri/. 'These palm-trees are all lofty.'

(86) Osisi à /dìsì mkpumkpu mkpumkpu./ 'These trees are all short.'

(87) Edè /dìchà urughuuru ūrughuuru./ 'The cocoyams are all tiny.'

#### N.4.2. Conjunction of Nominals

The conjunction of nominals is another way in which the language expresses the plural notion. This is proved to be so by the occurrence of plural anaphoric elements referring to the conjoined expression, as is the case with appositional pronouns. (See. N.8.9. below)

The conjoining of nominals applies to adjectives as well as nouns, and to these attention is limited here. The conjoining of adjectives may be taken as a variant of the reduplication of adjectives discussed above, the only difference in form being the occurrence of the conjunction na 'and' between the first and the second occurrences of the adjective, plus the fact that the second occurrence has low tones except in the first syllable, while the first occurrence has high tones throughout.

Consider the following examples. Anaphoric elements referring to the conjoined expressions are underlined.

- (88) /Umìkpòrò nà umìkpòrò egghu à/, ònyē rèsìrì gị hna?  
 'Who sold to you these lean goats?' ('Lean and <sup>lean</sup> goats these, who sold to you them?')
- (89) /Eferiri nà efèrìrì akwà/ o vù bya ahyā, ò dighĩ onye nà àzụ yā hna.  
 'Nobody is buying from him the very light cloths he brought to the market.' ('Light and light cloths he carried came market, there is not person actually buys from him them.')

In the following examples pluralizing suffixes occur, and the conjoined adjectives function as attributive Complements.

- (90) Ehyni yā /dìsì okpokoro nà okpòkòrò./ 'His cows are all huge.'
- (91) Uzò /dìchà mwaramwa nà mwàràmwà./ 'The roads are all narrow.'

#### N.5. Plural Verbs

There are two verbs in the language which when used always imply a plurality of objects. They are icĩ 'to carry or hold many things'; itūtù 'to pick up many things'. The objects of these verbs must be plural in form or meaning.

- (92) Ènì cị /àwe/ n'aka. 'Ènì is carrying clothes in his hands.'
- (93) Ọ cị /umù nkitā./ 'He is carrying puppies.'
- (94) Ezè nà àtūtù /ugirī./ 'Ezè is picking up oranges.'

The verbs iphō 'to collect', ijū 'to fill' and itū 'to pile up', and compound verbs with them, when used with countable nouns, imply plurality in the noun. In the case of iphō only the object must be plural in form or sense, and in the case of ijū the subject must be plural, in the same way.

(95) Òbî phò /ahyihya./ 'Òbi is carrying leaves.'

(96) /Akwà/ jùrù n'ahya. 'There are many cloths in the market.'

The verb izù 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient', 'to be of required amount or number' implies plurality in the subject and the object (when expressed), if the nouns are countable.

(97) /Òkè/ ezùole /hnā/. 'The shares have gone round all of them.'

(98) /Òbi hnà/ àbyazùole. 'Òbi and others have all come.'

(99) /Akwùkwô/ zùrù /madhù niīle./ 'The books went round all the people.'

If the subject is a mass noun or the third person singular pronoun representing a quantity of the same thing, and the object is expressed, the object must be plural in form or meaning.

(100) Mirī èzùole /ehynī./ 'The cows have all got water.'

(101) O.zùru /ānyī./ 'It was enough for all of us.'

In the sense of 'to meet', izù is a reciprocal verb and must have both a subject and an object, both of which must be expressed. By this obligatory occurrence of the two elements the verb indicates plurality.

(102) Òbî zùrù m̄ n'ulò ahyā. 'Òbi met me at the shop.'

#### N.6. Plurality in Verbs

The notion of 'plurality' is expressed in the verb in certain ways as it is expressed in nouns in certain other ways, as shown above. Some verbs were given, in N.5., the use of which implies plurality of objects, but not plurality of action. It was stated that the suffixes -cha and -rI implied plurality of action in addition to plurality of objects. It was also said that with certain types of verbs, 'active verbs', the suffixes -sì, -se/-sa could also imply plurality of action, indirectly, though primarily concerned with expressing plurality of objects. Now attention will be turned to those elements which indicate, plurality of action.

The language expresses plurality of action by the following means:

- |                      |                                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) suffixes         | (c) quantifying adverbial adjunct |
| (b) repetitive verbs | (d) repetition of verb phrases    |

(c) and (d) will not be discussed but are illustrated by (1) to (3) and (4) to (5), respectively.

(1) Ọ byàrà /ùgbò àtọ./ 'He came thrice.'

(2) Ọ gàrà /kwà ọbọcì./ 'He went every day.'

(3) Ọ jùrù m̄ /m̄gbe ọ wùlà ọ hnùrù m̄./ 'He asked me every time he saw me.'

(4) Ezè /rìrì jì, rìe jǐ, rìe jǐ. 'Ezè went on and on eating yams.'

(5) Ọ /cùrù ānyì, cù ānyì/. Anyì /àgba, gba./ 'He chased

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us. And we ran and ran.'

#### N.6.1. Verb Pluralizing Suffixes

In addition to -cha and -rI above, the suffixes given below indicate +Pl in the verb in which they occur, thus inflecting it for Number. But in addition to this each of them has a particular semantic sense which differentiates it from the others although they are comprehended in the category of Number. The suffixes are

- |               |                           |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| (i)     -ghA  | (v)     -kWA              |
| (ii)    -hule | (vi)    -wA               |
| (iii)   -mite | (vii) -r <sub>2</sub> isi |
| (iv)    -kāta |                           |

These suffixes indicate frequency in the action denoted by the verb to which they are added.

#### N.6.1. (i) -ghA

It is a harmonizing suffix. With 'action verbs' it implies repetition of the action, and with 'stative verbs' repetition of the state. Consequently, it can have the sense of 'progressive' or 'continuing' action or state.

The clause in which it occurs usually has an adverbial clause of time indicating the terminal time until which the action or state was relevant. The adverbial clause is optionally introduced by 'tùtùu/tèm/tìlìì' 'until'.

(6) Anyì /bùghà/ abù (tùtùu) ci àbòò. 'We sang and sang until dawn.' ('We sang and sang songs...')

(7) Hnā /r<sub>2</sub>ùghà/ ɔrny (tèm) ikhe āgwu hnā. | (They worked until they got tired.)

- and worked work until strength finished (in) them.')
- (8) Ezè /règhè/ ahya (tìlìì) ngwa ahyā ya āgwuchaa. 'Ezè kept selling until his goods were sold out.' ('Ezè sold and sold marketables until his wares got finished.')
- (9) Ọ /dìghà/ ndhù (tùtùù) nwanwā ya āmụta umù. 'He lived on and on until his grandchild got children.'
- (10) Ọ /zùghè/ ikhe (tèm) mụ àlọta. 'He went on and on resting until I got back.'

In (9) and (10) we have 'stative verbs'.

The suffix has not been found to occur with the past tense -rA/E. It sometimes co-occurs with the suffixes -sì (Num. and -rì 'Comitative'. In such instances while the function of -ghA is restricted to the verb, the functions of the other two relate them to the nouns in the clause, as discussed above. Consider these examples.

- (11) Ì nà èmeghari gini? 'What and what do you really keep on doing?'
- (12) Ì nà èmeghasì gini? 'What and what (name each of them) do you really keep on doing?'

From its aspectual meaning of 'progressive', -ghA might be included in the list of Aspect suffixes. But considering its basic function of indicating plurality of action it is regarded as belonging primarily to the Number category.

The suffix should be distinguished from the two verbs ighā 'to turn' and ighà 'to leave behind', 'to let go', 'to forgive'. It can be suffixed to either of them.

N.6.1. (ii) -hule

The form -hule is composed of two units, the second unit being the 'perfect aspect' suffix -lA. Whereas in some dialects -hu can occur alone, in the dialect which forms the basis of this work, -hu and -lA have coalesced to form one unanalysable unit. It does not harmonize.

Semantically it means 'to be or do again (and again)'. That it has to do with 'number' is sometimes brought out by an expression which indicates the final number in the series of 'doing' or 'being', as in (13). Sometimes ọ̀zọ 'again' occurs redundantly with it, as an adjunct, as in (14); but in other cases the presence of ọ̀zọ indicates a further repetition of the repeated action or state, as in (15).

(13) Anyị̀ /gàhùlèrè nke ùgbò ànọ./ 'We went again for the fourth time.'

(14) O /mèhùlèrè/ yà /ọ̀zọ/. 'He did it again (again)'.

(15) Ọ /dìhùlèrè ndhù ọ̀zọ./ 'He came back to life yet again.' (i.e. 'He died and came back to life and died again and again came back to life.')

Consider some more examples of its use.

(16) /Nyètùhule/ ì akwụkwọ ahụ. 'Please give me that book again.'

(17) O /kwùhùlèrè/ ihyne o kwùrù nà mbụ. 'He said again what he had said previously.'

# N.6.1. (iii) -mìte and -kàta

These two suffixes are completely interchangeable. The second syllable in each of them is the 'allative' case suffix -ta. -mì derives from the verb imì 'to be or go deep'. The derivation of -ka (if derived) is not known. However, the forms -mìte and -kàta as they are now used cannot be separated into further meaningful units. Neither of them harmonizes.

They indicate repeated action or state the repetition of which was eventually given up, for one reason or another. Sometimes the reason for giving up is expressed, and often the fact of the termination of the action or state is also expressed.

(18) Anyì / (rnyùmìtèrè) (rnyukàtàrà) / orny ikhe āgwu ānyì, 'anyì  
àkwusi. 'We worked and worked until we got exhausted,  
and we stopped.'

(19) ọ / (jyùmìtèrè) (jukàtàrà) / ya, ọ dighī n'isā ya, 'ya  
āhafu ijū ya. 'He asked him and asked him, but he  
would not answer him, so he gave up asking him.'

In (18) and (19) both the reason for and the fact of termination are expressed. In (20) the fact of termination is expressed, and in (21) it is not.

(20) ọ gakàtàrà, /tugharia, 'laghàchi azny./ 'He went on and  
on, then turned and went back.'

(21) Enā' kwumìtèrè, 'iwe āfu yā. 'They talked and talked  
until he got angry.' (They talked and talked, anger



came out (of) him.')

N.6.1. (iv) -kwa

-kwa is a multi-function particle: it can function within the category of Number; and it can function within the category of Anaphora. As an anaphoric morpheme it is dealt with under 'Anaphora' on pages 505~~4~~. As a realization of Number, its function is additive. In this function it indicates more than one 'action' or more than one 'object'. With regard to 'action' it usually indicates more than one of the same type of 'action' but can also indicate more than one action but of different types. When its use is limited to the verb, it occurs as a suffix. But when the emphasis is on the noun, it occurs as a particle following the noun to which it refers. In such a use it implies the addition of the referent of the noun to the number of other referents which may have the same or different identities, thus giving the sense of 'inclusiveness'.

Whether as a suffix or as a particle it harmonizes. And when it occurs as a particle its tone is the same as that of the preceding syllable.

As an additive element, its use often necessitates the occurrence of associated verbal clauses with identical verbs, and when only one clause occurs another one with the same verb is presupposed.

The semantic labels often given to it have to be viewed in the light of its belonging to the category of Number as well

as the category of Anaphora - such labels as 'too', 'also', 'again', 'then'.

In the following examples the focus of attention is the verb.

- (22) Àdhá zùrù òkpu, zùkwaa akìsì. 'Àdha bought a hat and in addition bought a scarf.'
- (23) Anyị èsiele jị́ síkwee anụ. 'We have cooked yams and in addition cooked meat.'
- (24) O kwèrè imē ya dīkà anyị kwèkwèrè. 'He agreed to do it just as we agreed too to do it.'

In the following examples a previous clause with the same verb is presupposed.

- (25) O nyèkwèrè m. 'He also gave to me.' (as he gave to others)
- (26) Unù hnùkwàrà ya. 'You (pl.) saw it too.' (as others did)

In these following examples the attention is focused on the noun which 'kwA' follows.

- (27) O nyèrè Òbì, nye Ọjhi kwà. 'He gave to Òbì, and gave to Ọjhi also.'
- (28) Ọjhi gàrà, unù kwè àga. 'Ọjhi went, and you also went.'
- (29) Anyị tỳrù eg'ò, tụọ erimeri kwe. 'We contributed money and contributed food as well.'

So far, the examples show more than one performance of the same type of action, and more than one object of different types, as in (27) to (30). In the following examples more

than one 'action' of different types by the same referent of the subject is indicated by the occurrence of -kwa.

(31) Ezè zàrà ulò, sikwee nrī. 'Ezè swept the house and cooked in addition.'

(32) O vùrù ivù, thikwaa akhalaakha. 'It grew big and also grew tall.'

#### N.6.1. (v) -wa and -risi

The two suffixes have been discussed in detail under Aspect, pages 112f. They have been included here under Number because some of their uses imply plurality of the 'action' denoted by the verbs in which they occur.

#### N.6.2. The Imperfective Aspect

The Imperfective Aspect might be included here too along with the 'Continuative' (-wa) and the 'Inclusive' (-risi) aspects although there is no overt representation of it different from the verb root. For the use of the verb root alone, particularly of 'action verbs', unless it is limited by the occurrence<sup>of</sup> some other expression, always implies plurality of action, as for instance (33) and (34).

(33) Anyì rì ihyne. 'We are (going on) eating.'

(34) O kwù okwu. 'He is (going on) talking.'

The fact that the sense of plurality of action is not brought out in translations is not sufficient reason for not recognizing the fact. What such suffixes as -wa, -risi, -gha, etc. do is to make apparent what is latent in every verb of the language, and to give a particular semantic dimension to it.

In support of the approach here are the statements of Otto Jespersen: "the plural idea with regard to the verbal action which is expressed in this use of the imperfect is of the same order as that which finds stronger expression in iterative or frequentative formations."<sup>1</sup> Earlier he had said, "...the real plural of the verb is what in some languages is expressed by the so-called frequentative or iterative - sometimes a separate 'form' of the verb is often classed with tense or aspect system of the language in question..."<sup>2</sup>

### N.6.3. Repetitive Verbs

Repetitive verbs form a sub-class of the phonologically defined Class III verbs, and are marked by their consisting of a reduplication of a verb root. We have already seen the use the language makes of the process of reduplication in expressing the plural idea in nouns and verb phrases. The same process is applied also to verbs, and the resulting forms serve the same purpose of expressing the notion of more than one, but with reference to the action. The verb *itūtū* which was given earlier as a plural verb is so derived and implies a number of picking actions with the further implication of several objects. It differs from other repetitive verbs in that in others the plural notion is limited to the verb and does not necessarily imply plural in the noun related with the verb.

Here a few examples of repetitive verbs are given along with the simple base from which they are derived.

- (35) (a) igbũ 'to slash', 'to hit out', 'to swat'  
 (b) igbũgbũ 'to wave about', 'to thrash about', 'to shake (e.g. the head)'.  
 (36) (a) ifà 'to wedge in'  
 (b) ifũfà 'to wedge into by repeated forcing actions'  
 (37) (a) ifē 'to fan', 'to blow (of wind)'  
 (b) ifũfē 'to fan repeatedly', 'to wave'; cf. ifufe 'wind'  
 (38) (a) ikwà 'to glance'  
 (b) ikwũkwà 'to hit about', 'to be unsteady', 'to stagger'

Hitherto the plurality of 'action' implied in the use of these verbs has not been recognized because consideration of Number in the language has been limited to nouns and pronouns only.

#### N.7. Concord

Before now it has been assumed that concord did not exist as a grammatical category in Igbo. But now that it has been shown in several places above that the occurrence of certain suffixes require the object noun to be plural in form or meaning, and certain other elements in the verb require the subject or object or both to be plural either in form or meaning, and further that certain verbs, the plural verbs, cannot occur except with plural nouns, it becomes necessary to modify the assumption about concord. It can be said that concord in Number operates in the language, at least to some

degree, although this may not be overtly realized in all the words associated together by the category of Number.

N.8. Pronouns (in Direct Speech): SINGULAR NUMBER

	(i) NON- EMPHATIC				
FUNCTION	PERSON				
	1ST	2ND	3RD		
			DEFINITE		INDEF.
			Remote	Remoter	
(a) Subject	m 'I'	i/i 'you'	o/o 'he/she/ it'	∅	e/a 'one' 'someone'
(b) Object	m 'me'	gi 'you'	ya 'him/ her/it'	hny 'him/ her/it'	∅
	(ii)	EMPHATIC			
(a) Subject	my, àmy (`ami) 'I'	gi, `agi 'you'	ya, `aya 'he/ she/it'	∅	∅
(b) Object	my 'me'	∅	∅	∅	∅

## B. PLURAL NUMBER

(i) NON-EMPHATIC					
FUNCTIONS	PERSON				
	1ST	2ND	3RD		INDEF.
			DEFINITE		
			Remote	Remoter	
(a) Subject	anyì 'we'	unu 'you'	hna 'they'	∅	hna 'some people'
Oblique	anyì 'we'	unu 'you'			
(b) Object	anyì 'us'	unu 'you'	hna 'them'	mmuo 'them'	hna 'them'
Oblique	anyì 'us'	unu 'you'	∅	∅	∅
(ii) EMPHATIC					
(a) Subject	anyì 'we'	unu 'you'	ahna 'they'	∅	∅
(b) Object	anyì 'us'	unu 'you'	∅	∅	∅

### N.8.1. Pronouns: Categories and Forms

As set out in Table I, above, Igbo pronouns indicate Person - First, Second, and Third, and Number - Singular and Plural. All three Persons have Non-emphatic and Emphatic forms; the forms are discussed in N.8.2-3.

The Third Person subcategorizes into Definite and Indefinite, and the Definite subcategorizes further into Remote and Remoter.

The Second Person has a form -nì/-nị, which can occur either as a suffix or as a particle following an NP. It is treated separately in N.8.12.

The forms of the pronouns in Direct Speech (as set out in Table I) are different from those used in Indirect Speech (as set out in Table 2) pages 238f.

### N.8.2. Pronouns in Subject Function

The forms of pronouns in subject function are illustrated as follows:-

#### (i) Singular, Non-emphatic

- (1) 1st. /M/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'I bought a book.'
- (2) 2nd. /I/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'You bought a book.'
- (3) 3rd (a) Def. /O/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'He/She bought a book.'
- (b) Indef. /A/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'Someone bought a book'/
- 'A book was bought.'

#### (ii) Plural, Non-emphatic

- (5) 1st. /Anyị/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'We bought a book.'
- (6) 2nd. /Unu/ zùrù akwùkwọ. 'You bought a book.'



- (7) 3rd. Def./Indef. /Hnâ/ zùrù akwukwọ. 'They bought a book'/'Some people bought a book.'

The 2nd and 3rd, singular, forms harmonize with the vowel of the first syllable of the following verb to I/I, O/O, and E/A, respectively. They are sometimes called 'inseparable pronouns'<sup>1</sup> because they can only occur as subjects and immediately followed by the verb. A/E is usually called 'impersonal pronoun', but this is considered in this work to be a misnomer. See below, N.8.5 .

Along with the 1st person singular, 'M', I/I, O/O and E/A are called 'monophonemic' pronouns because of their form which makes them not to behave tonally as forms with more than one phoneme. Compare (1) to (4) with (7), for instance, where /Hnâ/ has a high-falling tone, though one syllable, and the others lack the falling tone.

(iii) Singular, Emphatic

The singular, emphatic, forms have alternative forms one of which takes the low tone prefix à-, as in these examples.

- (8) 1st. /(Mû, Àmû, Àmî)/ zùrù akwukwọ. 'I (emph.) bought a book.'
- (9) 2nd. /(Gî, Àgî)/ zùrù akwukwọ 'You (emph.) bought a book.'
- (10) 3rd. Def/(Yâ, Àyâ)/ zùrù akwukwọ. 'He/She (emph.) bought a book.'

(iv) Plural, Emphatic

The 1st and 2nd plural, emphatic, show emphasis by tone,

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1. Green and Igwe: Op.cit, p.32.

taking high-high tones instead of the unemphatic high-low tones. The 3rd, Definite takes the low tone prefix, à-.

- (11) 1st. /Anyî/ zùrù akwùkwò. 'We (emph.) bought a book.'  
 (12) 2nd. /Unû/ zùrù akwùkwò. 'You (Emph.) bought a book.'  
 (13) 3rd. Def. /Àhnâ/ zùrù akwùkwò. 'They (emph.) bought a book.'

### N.8.3. Pronouns in Object Function

#### (i) Singular, Non-emphatic

Only the 1st person, singular, uses the same form for object as for subject function.

- (14) 1st. Ezè hnùrù /m/. 'Ezè saw me.'  
 (15) 2nd. Ezè hnùrù /gi./ 'Ezè saw you.'  
 (16) 3rd. Prox. Ezè hnùrù /ya/. 'Ezè saw him/her/it.'

#### (ii) Plural, Non-emphatic

The first person, plural, as an object always takes a mid-level tone structure which causes a preceding low tone syllable to take a high tone. 2nd and 3rd persons have the same form<sup>for</sup> object as for subject function.

- (17) 1st. Ezè hnùrù /ānyî/. 'Ezè saw us.'  
 (18) 2nd. Ezè hnùrù /unû/. 'Ezè saw you.'  
 (19) 3rd. (Prox) Ezè hnùrù /hna./ 'Ezè saw them.'

#### (iii) Singular, Emphatic

The 1st person, singular, emphatic, as object takes the form my. There is no differentiated form for the 2nd and 3rd persons. However, when the latter are not final in a clause, they take high tones, if emphatic, in place of the



N.8.4. Remote and Remoter Third Person

The 3rd Person Remote and Remoter forms fall into the system of Deixis of the language as set out below:

System of Deixis1. Proximate2. Non-ProximateA. DefiniteB. Indefinite(a) Remote (b) Remoter(i) Pronouns:

Sg.	gi, i/i, 'you'	ya, o/o 'he'	hny 'him'	e/a 'someone'
Pl.	unù 'you'	hna 'they'	mmuo 'them'	hna 'some people'

(ii) Location:

ebe à 'here'	ebe ahnyù/	—	nyee
nga à 'here'	nga ahnyù	—	'there'
	'there'		
	mnwee	—	
	'there'		

(iii) Reference:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} à \\ nàa \\ wà \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'this/' \\ 'these' \end{array} \right\}$	ahnyù 'that/ 'those'	wa 'the' ma (oblique) 'the' nyhnyù/nyhnyù 'that other' /	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ahnyù \\ wa \\ ma \end{array} \right\}$	'the/ that/
--	--	----------------------------	--	---	----------------

'those                      those'

others'

(c) Remotest

n̄iyēē

'the farther

other'

The system of Deixis as such is not discussed, but with regard to the Reference elements see 'Adjective' pp. 425-4. Attention is restricted to the 3rd Person forms.

When two 3rd person elements of the same number occur as objects the second of them, representing a remoter referent, takes the 'Remoter' form, as in (26) and (27).

(26) Ezè nyèrè /yà hn̄u./ 'Ezè gave it to him.'

(27) Ezè nyèrè /hn̄à mmuo./ 'Ezè gave them to them.'

If, however, the elements have different numbers only the 'Remote' forms are used, as in (28) and (29).

(28) Ezè nyèrè /yà hna./ 'Ezè gave them to him.'

(29) Ezè nyèrè /hn̄à ya./ 'Ezè gave it to them.'

When a 3rd person 'Remote' occurs as subject, another 3rd person of the same number with it occurring as object normally takes the 'Remoter' form, as in (30) and (31).

(30) /ŋ/ gwàrà /hn̄u/. 'He told him.'

(31) /Hn̄â/ gwàrà /mmuo./ 'They told them.'

Often, however, and especially in writings, the 'Remote' forms are used both for subject and object.

The expressions in which /ya ya/ and /hna hna/ occur as objects, though the result of the influence of English on Ìgbò as used by those literate in English, are ungrammatical and when used (which is always done with a great deal of hesitation) produce ludicrous results. Their use, however, in writing especially is due to the fact that the 'Remoter' forms have not been given any prestige by using them in written works, although they are used widely in oral communications.

N.8.5. Indefinite Pronouns

The 3rd person, singular, Indefinite (inaccurately called 'impersonal pronoun'), e/a can have a plural meaning, and is often substituted for the plural form 'hna', as in (32).

(32) (a) /A/ nà àkpọ gī òkù. 'Someone is calling you.'

(b) /Hna/ nà àkpọ gī òkù. '(They are) (Someone is) calling you.'

The Indefinite construction using <sup>occurs</sup> e/a when attention is focused on the 'process' rather than on the participant. It is the means by which the language suppresses the subject or Agent, whereas English achieves the same end by passivization and deletion of the Agent (or 'logical subject'). Hence English passive sentences are translated into Ìgbò by Indefinite expressions as in (33).

(33) 'The work was done yesterday.' A rnūrù ọrny wā eci.

When the subject is emphasized by passivization + 'by NP' in English, the same purpose is achieved in Ìgbò by predicating

the subject NP, as in (34) (b), or by the use of the reflexive form n'ònwè + Pron. as in (34) (c).

(34) (a) 'The work was done yesterday /by John/.

(b) /Ọ wū Jọn /rnhùrù ọrny wā eci.

(c) Jọn rnhùrù ọrny wā eci /n'ònwè yā./

The Indefinite pronoun ẹ/a is used for referents that can be specified with (+Animate, +Human). So it cannot mean 'something, it', as Dr. Carrell<sup>1</sup> glosses it.

#### N.8.6. Oblique use of Pronouns

The 1st person and 2nd person, plural pronouns are sometimes used with oblique reference. In such instances they have low-high tones, as in (35) and (36).

(35) (a) /Ànyî/ mètè ya. 'We' did it.'

(b) Ọ gwàrà /ànyî/. 'He told 'us'.'

(36) (a) /Ùnú/ mètè ya. 'You' did it.'

(b) Ọ gwàrà /unu/. 'He told 'you'.'

This use of the 1st and 2nd persons, plural, is a way of making them Indefinite, as it endeavours to conceal the identity of the referents.

#### N.8.7. Verb + Subject Pronoun

Igbo clauses are generally of the order NP+V+NP when the positions are all filled. Sometimes, when the subject NP is the first person singular, or the third person plural pronoun, the order of Subject+Verb is reversed to Verb+Subject. The reversal, however, is not unmotivated, and the two orders do not mean exactly the same thing.

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1. Carrell: Opc.it, p.24.

The reversed order contrasts with the unreversed one, and is used to stress the 'effective' or 'summary' aspect of the 'action' denoted by the verb (See Aspects, p. 118<sup>2</sup> F). Consequently the Aorist form of the verb is used. In terms of Non-emphatic/Emphatic, the unreversed order is 'Non-emphatic' or neutral, while the reversed order is Emphatic. Compare (a) and (b) of the following examples.

- (37) (a) /M byàrà/ ahya. 'I came to the market.'  
 (b) /Abyàrà m/ ahya. 'I did come to the market.'
- (38) (a) /M mēele/ yā. 'I have done it.'  
 (b) /Emēele m/ ya. 'I have got it done.'
- (39) (a) /M hnughĩ/ hna. 'I didn't see them.'  
 (b) /Àhnughĩ m/ hna. 'I did not see them.'
- (40) (a) /Hnà byàrà/ ahya. 'They came to the market.'  
 (b) /Abyàrà hnà/ ahya. 'They did come to the market.'
- (41) (a) /Hna ēmeele/ ya. 'They have done it.'  
 (b) /Emēele hnà/ ya. 'They have got it done.'
- (42) (a) /Hnà àhnughĩ/ ya. 'They didn't see it.'  
 (b) /Àhnughĩ hnà/ ya. 'They did not see it.'

As can be seen from the (b) examples, the form of the verbs is that of the Aorist, and the prefix is the Aorist prefix, a/e-. This prefix has hitherto been called 'pronominal prefix' and assumed to be substituting for the postposed pronoun.<sup>1</sup> The Welmers call it 'subject pronoun'<sup>2</sup> and

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1. Green and Igwe, op.cit, pp.33-34.

2. Welmers: Igbo, A Learner's Dictionary, p.1.



separate from the verb. Both analyses are wrong, and the latter more so than the former because there is no justification for it in the grammar of the language and it can lead to confusion with the Indefinite pronoun, a/e, or create quite unnecessary ambiguities, as in (43) and (44).

- (43) E mèrè m ya. (i) 'I did do it.'  
 (ii) 'Someone did it to me'/'It was done to me.'
- (44) A zùrù hnà ya. (i) 'They did buy it.'  
 (ii) 'Someone bought it from them'/'It was bought from them.'

If the clause is a Complex Clause, the post-posed pronouns occur before the final verb in the series, as in (b) of (45) to (47).

- (45) (a) /M nà àbya/ ūgbu à. 'I am coming now.'  
 (b) /Anà m àbya/ ūgbu à. 'I am coming now.'
- (46) (a) /M gà gà ème/ yā eci. 'I'll now do it tomorrow.'  
 (b) /Agà gà m ème/ yā eci. 'I'll now have to do it tomorrow.'
- (47) (a) /Hnà kà nà èri/ ihynē. 'They are still eating as yet.'  
 (b) /Akà nà hnà èri/ ihynē. 'They are still eating as yet.'

The post-posing of the third person plural pronoun is as frequent as that of the first person singular pronoun. So the statement of Dr. Carrell - "However, anà hnà èri nrī is

less common than *hna nà èri nrī* 'They are eating food'.<sup>11</sup> ... is without foundation.

#### N.8.8. Sequential Order of Co-occurring Pronouns

When the first person pronoun (singular or plural) co-occurs in a conjoined NP, with the 2nd or 3rd person or with both, it always takes precedence before them. If all three persons co-occur, the 2nd person usually precedes the 3rd person, after the 1st person, but can sometimes be preceded by the 3rd person. The monophonemic pronouns never occur in conjoined expressions.

Consider the following examples.

- (48) *Mụ nà gi nà ya ...* 'I and you and he...'
- (49) *Mụ nà ya nà gi ...* 'I and he and you ...'
- (50) *Anyị nà unù nà hna ...* 'We and you and they...'
- (51) *Anyị nà hna nà unù ...* 'We and they and you...'
- (52) *O nyèrè /mụ nà gi nà ya nà hnụ./* 'He gave to me and you and him and him (Remoter).'
- (53) *O nyèrè /mụ nà ya nà hnụ nà gi./* 'He gave to me and him and him and you.'
- (54) *O nyèrè /anyị nà unù nà hna nà mmuo./* 'He gave to us and you and them and them (Remoter).'
- (55) *O nyèrè /anyị nà hna nà mmuo nà unù./* 'He gave to us and them and them and you.'

When only the 2nd and 3rd persons are conjoined, the 2nd always occurs first, as in (56).

- (56) (a) *gi nà ya* 'you and he'

(b) unu nà hna 'you (pl.) and they'

And among the 3rd person pronouns the 'Remoter' forms follow the others, as in (57).

(57) (a) ya nà hnu 'he and he (Remoter).'

(b) hna nà mmuo 'they and they (Remoter).'

The emphatic forms àmụ, àgị, àya, and àhna occur only in first positions, as in (58).

(58) (a) àmụ nà gị 'I and you'

(b) àgị nà ya 'you and he'

(c) àya nà hnu 'he and he (Remoter)'

(d) àhna nà mmuo 'they and they (Remoter)'

Observe that when the first person plural and the second person plural occur first they take their emphatic forms of high-high tones, as in (50) and (56) (b) above, for instance.

The third person singular and plural 'ya' and 'hna' may precede or follow each other, as in (59).

(59) (a) ya nà hna 'he and they'

(b) hna nà ya 'they and he'

#### N.8.9. Appositional Pronouns: Person and Number

The occurrence of the appositional pronoun in Interrogative sentences has been mentioned in the literature of Igbo grammar, but nowhere fully treated. Here it is fully described in order to bring out certain details which have not so far been brought to light, and to justify the claim that Singular and Plural Number alone should be recognized for Igbo nouns.

(i) If the subject of the clause to be interrogated is

singular in form or meaning, and the interrogation is not emphatic, the appositional pronoun is /o/ or /ò/ in harmony with the first syllable of the following verb, and has a low tone.

(60) Ezè /ò/ mà ya? 'Does Ezè know him?

(61) Ezè /ò/ riele ihynē? 'Has Ezè eaten something?'

(62) Òkwù /ò/ fùtala? 'Has trouble ensued?'

(ii) If the subject is plural in meaning (as in (63)), or plural in form being (a) a plural noun (as in (64)), or (b) conjoined nouns (as in (65)), the appositional pronoun is the third person plural /hnà/, with a low tone.

(63) Àkwùkwò /hnà/ èfùisieie? 'Have the books got all lost?'

(64) Umütàkiri /hnà/ ègwuchaala egwū? 'Have the children finished playing?'

(65) Òbi nà Òjhi /hnà/ gàrà mbà? 'Did Òbi and Òjhi travel?'

(iii) If the subject is a conjoined expression and contains a first person pronoun, singular or plural, the appositional pronoun is the first person plural /anyị/, with low tones.

(66) Mụ nà Òbi nà ya /anyị/ zùrù ikhe? 'Did Òbi and he and I rest?'

(67) Anyị nà hnà /anyị/ kwùrù okwu? 'Did they and we speak?'

(iv) If the conjunction contains no first person pronoun but contains a second person pronoun, singular or plural, the appositional pronoun is the second person plural /unù/ with low tones.

(68) Gị nà Ezè /unù/ wù enyi? 'Are you and Ezè friends?'

(69) Unu nà hnà /'unù/ gàrà ebe òle? 'Where did you go with them?'

(v) If the conjunction consists of third person elements only -- noun + noun (as in (65) above), noun + pronoun (as in (70)), or pronoun + pronoun (as in (71)), the appositional pronoun is /hnà/.

(70) Ya nà Òbi /hnà/ mètè gĩĩ? 'What did he and Òbi do?'

(71) Yà nà hny /hnà/ jí gĩĩ? 'What is the matter between him and him?'

(vi) In all the instances above the questions are unemphatic. When the question is emphatic, ò/ò is replaced by /ya/, and /hnà/, /'anyì/, /'unù/ become /hnà + ya/, /'anyì + ya/ and /unù + ya/, respectively, as in the following examples.

(72) Gĩ /yâ/ wètàrà òkpu? 'Was it you who brought the hat?'

(73) Òbì /yâ/ mètè ozi? 'Was it Òbi who did the work?'

(74) Ezè nà ya /hnà yâ/ kwùrù okwu? 'Was it Ezè and him who spoke?'

(75) Mụ nà gĩ /'anyì yâ/ zùrù ya? 'Did you and I buy it?'

(76) Gĩ nà Ọjhi /'unù yâ/ hnùrù ya? 'Was it seen by you and Ezè?'

The type of questions illustrated in (72) to (76), it must be explained, expect the answer 'No'.

It should be observed how, in (60) to (71) the Number of the appositional pronoun is determined by the Number of the subject NP, and how 'conjoining' counts for 'plural' in the language.

The details of the tones of the subject NP are not described here as these are not under consideration. But they are worthy of note, however.

#### N.8.10. Reduplication of Pronouns

It has been stated that nouns are reduplicated for the purpose of expressing the 'plural' notion. Similarly pronouns are reduplicated with the purpose of expressing the sense of 'all-ness'.

- (77) /Ya yā/<sup>^</sup>mèrè ɔ̃rnỹ à. 'He alone did this piece of work.'/  
'He did this piece of work all by himself.'
- (78) /Hna hnā/ ālachaala. 'All of them have all gone away.'
- (79) /Anyị ānyị/<sup>^</sup>nò ñga à. 'All of us are here.'/'It is only us exclusively who are here.' (i.e. 'There is no outsider among us.')
- (80) Ọ wụ /unu ũnũ/ mèrè ya? 'Was it done by all of you?'/  
'Was it done by you (pl.) alone?'

Observe that as in the case of class I and class II nouns, the second member in the reduplication has an initial mid-tone in relation to the first member.

#### N.8.11. Reflexive Forms

Reflexive forms are constructed by combining pronouns (and sometimes nouns) with the nouns ogwè 'self' and ònwe 'self'. Neither of the nouns can occur by itself without being modified by a pronoun or by a noun. There are seven types of reflexive forms as follows:

- (i) ogwè+Pronoun/Noun.

- (ii) ̀onwe+Pronoun/Noun.
- (iii) (ogwè+Pronoun 1)+(Prep.+̀onwe+Pronoun 1).
- (iv) (ogwè+Noun)+(Prep.+̀onwe+Pronoun of same Person & Number as Noun)
- (v) Pronoun 1 +(Prep.+̀onwe+Pronoun 1)
- (vi) Noun+(Prep.+̀onwe+Pron. of same Person and Num. as Noun)
- (vii) Prep.+̀onwe+Pronoun/Noun.

Only the types with pronouns in their composition will be described and illustrated, in the order they are given above.

(i) ogwè+Pronoun

The form has an emphatic sense and is substitutable for an emphatic pronoun. It can be used as subject or object.

- (81) /Ogwè yā/nyèèrè /ogwè m/ aka. 'He himself helped me myself.'
- (82) /Ogwè hnā/ hnùrù /ogwè unù/ n'anya. 'They themselves love you yourselves.'

(ii) ̀onwe+Pronoun

It can be used only as a reflexive object and the pronoun member must agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.

- (83) /Ezè/ mètè /̀onwe yā/ ihyne ọjọō. 'Ezè wronged himself.'
- (84) /Anyị/ hnùrù /̀onwe ānyị/ n'anya. 'We love ourselves.'
- (85) /Obi nà Ọjhi/ hnùritàrà /̀onwe hnā/ irno. 'Obi and Ọjhi hate each other.' ('...hate themselves each the other.')

(iii) (ogwè+Pronoun1)+(Prep.+ònwe+Pronoun 1)

This form is still more emphatic in sense than (i) above, but is used in the same way - as subject or object.

(86) /Ogwe gi n'ònwe gi/ mèrè /ogwè ya n'ònwe ya/ ihyne ojoō.

'You yourself did him himself wrong.'

(v) Pronoun 1 +(Prep.+ònwe+Pronoun 1)

The form is emphatic in meaning and also in form in that the first pronoun is always an emphatic form, while the second one is the unemphatic form of the same person and number. It may be used as a subject or an object.

(87) /Mù n'ònwe m̄/ mèrè kà /hna n'ònwe hnā/ mata. 'I myself made them themselves know.'

(88) Àyā gwàrà /unu n'ònwe unù./ 'He (emph.) told you yourselves.'

(vii) Prep.+ònwe+Pronoun

It is used as a reflexive 'Agentive' form, and the pronoun member must agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.

(89) Emèrè /m/ yà /n'ònwe m̄/. 'I did do it by myself.'

(90) /O/ cètàrà yà /n'ònwe yā/. 'He recalled it by himself.'

(91) /Ndị ahnù/ byàrà /n'ònwe hnā./ 'Those people came by themselves.'

From the composition of the reflexive forms which is such that the number of the final pronoun member is determined by the number of the preceding pronoun (and this will apply also where nouns precede), and from the fact of number concord



between the final pronoun member and the subject of the clause, as in (ii) and (viii), it will be realized that Number cannot be a peripheral category in the language. And the concord noticed here and also between appositional pronouns and their preceding subject NP's give a grammatical justification for classifying the pronouns into singular and plural forms.

N.8.12. The Particle nì/-nì

The particle nì/-nì is a class II element, non-harmonizing and tonally invariable. It can occur as a suffix, or as a particle following a noun or pronoun. It has two functions: one as a subject in a second person Imperative, plural, when the subject unù is not expressed, and another as a Vocative element when not functioning as subject.

As regards its subject function, compare (c) with (a) and (b) in (92).

- (92) (a) Zùò ikhē. 'Rest (sing.)'  
 (b) Unù zùò ikhē. 'You rest (pl.)'  
 (c) Zùonì ikhe. 'You rest (pl.)'

As to its function as a Vocative form, consider the following examples.

- (93) Ezè afùolanì. 'Ezè has gone out, you people.'  
 (94) Anyì àbyalanì. 'We have come, you people.'  
 (95) Ikhe āgwula yā nì. 'He is tired, you people.'  
 (96) Ihnu oma ākpola unū nì. 'You are lucky, you people.'  
 (97) Ndeèwo nì. 'Greetings, you people.'/'Thank you (pl.)'  
 (98) Abhàla m̄ ulō nì. 'I have gone to bed, you people.'

### N.8.13. Pronouns in Indirect Speech

The forms of pronouns in Indirect Speech have not been discussed anywhere before in the treatment of Igbo grammar, although these forms are in regular use in speech. They have not also appeared anywhere in writing largely due to the simplicity of the material and the style of what has been written so far, but also due to the indirect influence of English on Igbo writing.

The forms of the pronouns are set out in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Pronouns in Indirect Speech

#### A. Singular Number (i) Non-emphatic

P E R S O N			
1ST	2ND	3RD	
mọ/mo mọhno/mohno 'I' omọ/omò	gọ/go gọhno/gohno 'you' ogọ/ogò	DEFINITE	
		Remote	Remoter
		yọ/yo	hno/hno
		yọhno/yohno 'he/she' ayọ/ayò	'he/she' ohno/ohnò
(a)	(ii) <u>Emphatic</u>		
àmọ/àmo	àgọ/àgo	àyọ/àyo	àhno/àhno
àmọhno/àmohno	àgọhno/àgohno	àyọhno/àyohno	òhno/òhno
òmọ/omo	ògọ/ògo	'he/she'	'he/she'
'I'	'You'		

òmohno/òmohno 'I'	ògohno/ògohno 'you'		
.....			
(b)			
àmụ hno/hno àmụ òhno/òhno 'I'	àgi hno/hno àgi òhno/òhno 'You'	àya hno/hno àya òhno/òhno 'He'	àhnu hno/hno (àhno hno/ hno)

B. Plural Number, (i) Non-emphatic

PERSON			
1ST	2ND	3RD	
		DEFINITE	
		Remote	Remoter
		ahnò/ahnò	mmuò òhnò/
		hnahno/hnahno 'they'	mmuohno mmuohno/ mmuohno 'they'
(a)	(ii) <u>Emphatic</u>		
anyihno/ anyihno 'we'	unuhno/ unuhno 'you'	àhnahno/ àhnahno 'they'	mmuo òhno/ mmuo òhno 'they'
.....			

(b)			
ànyì òhno/	ùnù òhno/	àhnà òhno/	mmùò òhno/
ànyì òhno	ùnù òhno	àhnà òhno	mmùò òhno

In the system of pronouns used in Indirect Speech the monophonemic pronouns which occur in Direct Speech do not occur. The Indirect Speech pronouns are differentiated from the Direct Speech ones by the occurrence of a basic element - òhno/ohno (the vowels being determined by harmony with the first syllable of the following verb). This element may be shortened by the deletion of the first vowel syllable, as in anyìhnò 'we', unùhnò 'you' and hnò 'he/she', or be completely deleted but only after it has affected the pronoun before it, as in mò 'I', gò 'you', òmò 'I' and ògò 'you'.

In the emphatic dimension, where the full form of òhno/ohno occurs, the expression is more emphatic than other emphatic forms.

Observe the regressive assimilation of the vowels of mụ, àmụ, gị àgị, anyị and unù to the vowel of òhno/ohno such that these pronouns become respectively mò/mo, àmò/àmo, òmò/òmo, gò/go, àgò/àgo, ògò/ògo, anyò/anyò and unò/unò.

#### N.8.13 (i) Verbs necessitating Indirect Pronouns

The type of verbs which necessitate the use of Indirect Pronouns are

- (a) verbs of 'saying' e.g. isī 'to say', igwā 'to tell', ikà 'to say', ikwū 'to speak/say'.

- (b) verbs of 'thinking' e.g. icè 'to think', izù 'to reflect',  
ikwhò 'to take regard of'; and
- (c) the verb ijũ 'to ask'.

The Indirect pronouns occur in the dependent parts of Complex sentences, and such dependent parts function as Complements in the sentences. The pronouns do not occur as objects, in their own right. It is not possible to illustrate all the varieties of forms as set out in the Table above. And since there is no syntactic difference between Non-emphatic and Emphatic forms, only the Non-emphatic forms will be illustrated in the paradigms below.

Paradigm 1 : With 'saying' verbs

A. Singular

1st	Ezè sị	{omò/mò}	zùrù òkpu.	'Ezè said that {I} bought a
2nd		{ogò/gò}		{you} hat.'
3rd (a)		{ayò/yò}		{he (Eze)}
(b)		{ohnò/hnò}		{he (another)}

B. Plural

1st	Ezè sị	{anyò}	zùrù òkpu.	'Ezè said that {we} bought a hat.'
2nd		{unò}		{you}
3rd (a)		{ahnò}		{they (Eze+)}
(b)		{mmuo ohnò}		{they (others)}

(In all cases above 'sị' may be accompanied by the complementizer nà.)

Paradigm 2 : With 'thinking' verbs

A. Singular

1st	Òbí cèrè nà(mohnô)kwürù okwu.	'Òbí thought that(I)spoke.'
2nd	{gohnô}	{you}
3rd (a)	{yohnô}	{he (Òbí)}
(b)	{hno/ohnô}	{he (another)}

### B. Plural

1st	Òbí cèrè nà(anyìhnô)kwürù okwu.	'Òbí though that(we)spoke.'
2nd	{unùhnô}	{you}
3rd (a)	{hnàhnô}	{they (Òbí+)}
(b)	{mmuòhnô}	{they (others)}

The following two examples simply illustrate the use of *ijū* 'to ask'.

(99) Ọ jürù mà /àgohnô/ gwàrà m. 'He asked whether you (emph) told me.'

(100) Ezè jürù mà /anyì òhnô'/ nwe ùwà. 'Ezè asked whether we (emph) owned the world.'

### N.8.13.(ii) Appositional use of Indirect Pronouns

Indirect pronouns can occur appositionally. In such cases the form which occurs must agree in number with the NP to which it is in apposition. The conditions stated in N.8.9. also apply, except (vi). Consider the following examples.

(101) Ọ jürù mà /Ezè hnò/ riele nrī. 'He asked whether Ezè had eaten (food).'

(102) Ọ cèrè nà /Òbí nà Ọjhì mmuo ohnô/ nòrìsì ebe à. 'He thought that Òbí and Ọjhì were still here.'

### N.9. Quantifying Nominals

There are two categories of Quantifiers by which the

plural notion is realized, as one of the means of expressing Number in the language. They are Numerals and Quantifying adjectives.

N.9.1. Numerals

Numerals are not dealt with in detail here. The category has been fairly adequately treated by Dr. Carrell in the 'Transformational Grammar of Igbo'.<sup>1</sup>

Igbo has Cardinal, Ordinal and Dual numerals which are widely recognized and used. But some dialects of it have also Trial, Quadrial and more.

N.9.1.1. Cardinals

All cardinal numerals, as quantifiers, follow nouns, with the exception of the following; which only precede their nouns.

- (1) otù 'one'      (2) ohu (m̃og'ụ, oru) 'twenty'  
(3) nṇụ 'fourhundred'

When these three are not quantifiers they can occur after nouns, while the other cardinals, precede when they are not quantifiers. In such cases the numerals become the heads of the phrases. Consider the following examples.

- (4) otù akwụkwọ 'one book'; 'one of the books'; 'a certain book'.  
(5) ohu ụgbò 'twenty times'  
(6) nṇụ afọ 'fourhundred years'  
(7) (a) akwụkwọ /ābũō/ 'two books'; 'the books of two (people)'  
(b) /abũō/ akwụkwọ 'two of the books'

- (8) (a) òkpu /ĩri/ 'ten hats'; 'hats of ten (people)'  
 (b) /ĩri/ òkpu 'ten of the hats'
- (9) ɔlò /otù/ 'the house of one (man)'
- (10) eg'o /ohū/ 'the money of twenty (men)'

Observe the ambiguity of (7) (a) and (8) (a).

With the exception of otù 'one', all cardinal numerals can follow or precede pronouns, with necessary differences in meaning. However, cardinals can follow only plural pronouns.

Consider the following examples.

- (11) àbùṛ ya 'two of it'; 'his two'
- (12) (a) /àbùṛ/ hna 'two of them'; 'their two'  
 (b) hna /ābùṛ/ 'the two of them'
- (13) (a) /àtò/ ǎnyì 'three (out) of us'; 'our three'  
 (b) anyì /ātò/ 'the three of us'
- (14) (a) /ohu/ unù 'twenty (out) of you'; 'your twenty'  
 (b) unù /ohū/ 'the twenty of you'

Again observe the ambiguity of (11), (12) (a), (13) (a), (14) (a). otù 'one', as in (4), can have a sense of 'indefiniteness'.

#### N.9.1.2. Ordinals

There are only two ordinal forms, mby 'first' and àbò 'second'. For other numerals the same forms are used for both cardinal and ordinal, sometimes with some other expressions, but this cannot be gone into here. Consider the examples of the 'first' and 'second'.



- (15) Ọ wū /onye m̄bu/. 'He is the first person.'  
 (16) Nye m̄ /akwukwọ àbò/. 'Give me the second book.'

N.9.1.3. Dual

The dual form is derived by prefixing na- to the second ordinal form and by turning its consonant /b/ into a labial-velar approximant. In other dialects the consonant remains unchanged. Thus we have two forms of it naàwò/naàbò 'two-of-the-same'.

It is frequently used of paired things, and always of those parts of the body that are paired.

- (17) madhù naàwò 'two people'  
 (18) ụzọ naàwò 'both ways', 'two ways'  
 (19) anya naàwò 'the pair of eyes'  
 (20) aka naàwò 'the pair of hands'  
 (21) ùgbò naàwò 'twice'

Some dialects have naāto 'the three of'; naāno 'the four of'; niīse 'the five of'; etc. Such dialects are found in the Awka-Orlu area.

N.9.3. Quantifying Adjectives

The following adjectives imply more than one object when they are used with reference to countable things:

- (22) òzùgbò (òzùzù) 'all'  
 (23) ebìrì 'numerous'  
 (24) ìkitì 'plentiful', 'many'  
 (25) ìmìrìkiti 'multitudinous'  
 (26) eri 'plentiful', 'many'

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(27) niīle 'all'

(28) dūm 'all'

(29) agha 'numerous', 'plentiful'

As they recur under Adjectives, they are not discussed here.

N.10. Paucal

Igbo does not express only Singular, Plural and Dual (and Trial, Quadrial, etc., as mentioned above), it expresses also the notion of 'fewness', or Paucal. It does this by the use of an adjective naāni 'only', and a suffix -bè. naāni is ~~mentioned again~~ under Adjectives, p. ~~494~~ 5. The suffix is dealt with now.

The suffix is sometimes glossed as 'not yet' for the simple reason that it often occurs in negative verb forms. Green, in her work on the Igbo Suffixes glosses it 'yet', 'ever'. These glosses indicate that the point of the suffix is not appreciated. It expresses the paucal dimension of Number, and can occur either in negative or positive verb forms and clauses. It is non-harmonizing, and tonally invariable.

Consider the following examples.

(30) Ò byabèghì. 'He has not come at all.'

(31) Anyị èribèghì nri tha à. 'We haven't eaten at all today.'

(32) Ùgbò àtọ kà unu byābèlè ebe ānyị. 'Thrice only have you come to our place.'

(33) Ùnù àhnyùbèle yā? 'Have you seen it at all?'/ 'Have you

ever seen it?'

- (34) Mbà àtọ kà ọ gābèlè na nghù ya. 'He has travelled to  
only three towns in all his life.'

CHAP. 12CaseCa.1. 'Case' as a category of the Grammar of Igbo

'Case' as a category of the grammar of Igbo has never been discussed in detail anywhere before.<sup>1</sup> There are two main reasons for this. Until recently, the consideration of case as a grammatical category has been more or less limited to inflexional languages, like Latin and Greek, and the category described only in terms of inflexional elements in nouns.<sup>2</sup> As Igbo is not an 'inflexional' language - in the sense that nouns do not undergo morphological changes when they occur in different syntactic positions and contract different syntactic relationships - it did not seem appropriate to posit a category of case for it. (It should be noted that nouns of certain structures occurring in certain syntactic position are tonally inflected. See 'Tones', p.13 F).

However, if the discussion of 'case' is not inhibited by morphological considerations, and syntactic features (such

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1. J. Spencer has a short paragraph on 'Case' in his 'A First Grammar of the Ibo Language' (1901), p.16.

2. e.g. Frederick Cassidy: "'Case' in Modern English" - Language 13: p.244, 1937. "'Case' will be properly used and will continue to have some meaning only if the association with inflection be fully recognized, and if stretching of the term to include other sorts of 'formal' distinction be abandoned."

Winfred P. Lehmann: "On earlier stages of the Indo-European nominal inflection" - Language 34, p.185, 1958. "...To us a particular case in non-existent unless it is represented by forms which contrast with others in a system."

as word-order and pre- and post-positions) are taken into account, then it will be extremely difficult not to recognize the category for Igbo. That is to say, if the category as such is distinguished from the realization of it in surface structures<sup>1</sup>, it will be seen that it has a valid place in the grammar of Igbo. The category of case is therefore set up in this work as a syntactic category of the Clause. It is accounted for both by certain morphological elements which

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1. e.g. John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.294, "We must therefore consider the relationship between prepositional phrases and case, in any general discussion of the category of case... Although the category of case is traditionally restricted to inflectional variation, it is clear that both the 'grammatical' and the 'local' functions... are logically independent of the ways they are realized in particular languages. Furthermore, these 'grammatical' and 'local' functions may be realized in the same language by case inflexions and partly by other means - most commonly by prepositions or by postpositions, or by word-order. This means that the category of case cannot be discussed solely from a morphological point of view."

Charles J. Fillmore: "The case for case" - Universals in Linguistic Theory, pp.21,32.

"I shall adopt the usage... of using the term 'case' to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship, and the term 'case form' to mean the expression of a case relationship in a particular language -- whether through affixation, or suppletion, use of clitic particles, or constraints on word order..."

"This section will deal with some of the ways in which deep structures of the type proposed in this essay are converted into surface representations of sentences. The various mechanisms involve selection of overt case forms (by suppletion, affixation, addition of prepositions or postpositions), 'registration' of particular elements in the verb, subjectivization, objectivization, sequential ordering, and nominalizations."

occur as suffixes in the verb, and by the NP elements of a clause, including prepositional phrases.

Ca.2. Scope of the consideration of case

In considering the category of case in Igbo I am indebted to the writings of John Lyons<sup>1</sup>, Charles J. Fillmore<sup>2</sup> and John M. Anderson.<sup>3</sup>

Lyons accepts 'the general validity' of eight cases - 'Subjective' ('Nominative'), 'Objective' ('Accusative'), 'Indirect Objective' ('Dative'), 'Adnominal 'possessive' ('Genitive'), 'Instrumental', 'Agentive', and 'Comitative'. Fillmore, while recognizing the possibility of 'several others', selects the following cases for treatment - 'Agentive', 'Instrumental', 'Dative', 'Factive', 'Locative', 'Objective', He mentions the 'Benefactive' case, and observes a relationship between the 'dative' and 'genitive' cases, syntactically. Anderson, on the other hand, working towards a 'localist' theory of case, deals in the main with only three cases - 'Nominative', 'Ergative', and 'Locative'. He sees the 'dative' case as a subtype of the 'locative' case, and suggests a relation between 'possession' and 'location' leading to a recognition of a connection between 'locative' and 'genitive'

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1. Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.289-304.
  2. Fillmore: Case for Case - Universals in Linguistics, pp.1-90.
  3. Anderson: The Grammar of Case - Cambridge University Press.

which is similar to the view of Fillmore, though not expressed in 'localist' terms.

Lyons does not seem to accept that 'case' is a 'deep' structure category, as Fillmore and Anderson do. He says: "... 'case' (in the languages in which this category is to be found) is not present in 'deep' structure at all, but is merely the inflexional 'realization' of particular syntactic relationships (since 'case' is defined in terms of a prior notion of 'noun', this fact would vitiate any attempt to define the 'noun' in terms of 'case')." <sup>1</sup> Because of the theoretical differences between Lyons on the one hand and Fillmore and Anderson on the other, there are some differences in the names of some of the cases as used by them. Thus, for instance, while for Lyons 'objective' is synonymous with 'accusative', Fillmore says of 'objective': "The term is not to be confused with the notion of direct object, nor with the name of the surface case synonymous with accusative."

I agree with Fillmore and Anderson that case is a 'deep' structure category, but have adopted the more extensive terminology of Fillmore rather than the limited one of Anderson.

However, the consideration of case in Igbo is limited in this work to those categories of it which involve overt morphological elements - suffixes (and prepositions) - in order to keep within the limit of the general subject of the work. Therefore the following cases, as defined by Fillmore (though

not going all the way with his definitions)<sup>1</sup>, will be discussed:

- |                 |                |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (a) Benefactive | (c) Agentive   | (e) Locative     |
| (b) Dative      | (d) Comitative | (f) Instrumental |

Other cases are mentioned only incidentally, and where necessary.

Ca.3. 'Grammatical' and 'Local' Cases

Following Lyons, as far as the surface realization of case is concerned, the case categories listed above are discussed under two major categories - 'grammatical' and 'local' case functions. This is not a denial of the 'localist' approach of Anderson, which I find very attractive and useful in explaining certain features in Igbo to which attention will be drawn at appropriate places. All but (e), above, will be considered under 'grammatical' function cases.

'Locative' cases are considered under two heads: 'Locational' and 'Directional'.

Ca.4. Case forms

Apart from the preposition 'na', the following case forms will be discussed in connection with the cases which they help to represent:

- (a) 'Grammatical Case'
- (i) -rA/E 'Dative-Benefactive' case

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1. Op.cit., pp. 24-25, 81.



(ii) -sì 'Dative-Recipient/Receptive' case

(iii) -rI 'Comitative' case

(b) 'Local' Case

(1) 'Locative'

(i) -sa (ii) -kwàsa (iii) -gidhe (iv) -rà

(2) 'Directional'

(i) -la (ii) -ahna (iii) -lahna (iv) -tù

(v) -dhàx (vi) -g'o (vii) -tà (viii) -tA

(ix) -IghA/(-I) (x) -bhàx (xi) -du (xii) -jhex

(xiii) -IsI (xiv) -fùx (xv) -mìx

#### Ca.5. The grammar of case in Igbo

The grammar of case in Igbo is characterized briefly below, using the rule which Fillmore proposed, of

$S \rightarrow M + P$  (i.e. Sentence  $\rightarrow$  Modality + Proposition),  
and expanding P to  $V + C_1 + \dots + C_n$  (i.e. P  $\rightarrow$  Verb +  
Case<sub>1</sub> +  $\dots$  + Case<sub>n</sub>).

The rule will be modified in two respects: It will be treated as a rewriting rule; and some order will be observed in the sequence of case categories from the outset on the basis of Igbo characteristic order of 'Subject+Verb+Object'. First 'grammatical' cases will be characterized, then 'local' cases.

#### Ca.6. 'Grammatical' Cases

In the characterization of the 'grammatical' case attention is limited to the 'Dative', and the 'Comitative', the 'Agentive' and the 'Instrumental' cases uncombined. The

initial rule is assumed in each case and the P only is expanded.

Ca.6.1. 'Dative'

- (1) (a)  $P \longrightarrow A + V + O + D$   
(b)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 + (\text{affix} + NP_3)$   
(c)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + V + (\text{affix} + NP_3) + NP_2$  (reversing order of O and D)  
(d)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + (V + \text{affix}) + NP_3 + NP_2$  (attaching affix to V)

There are two types of affixes connected with 'Dative': -rA/E and -sì. The first realizes 'Dative-Benefactive', and the other 'Dative-Recipient/Receptive' I, traditionally called 'Beneficiary' and 'Recipient', respectively. Substituting these affixes one after the other in (d), we get (e) and (f), respectively.

- (e)  $NP_1 + (V + rA/E) + NP_3 + NP_2$   
(f)  $NP_1 + (V + sì) + NP_3 + NP_2$

Examples of sentences manifesting (e) and (f) are (2) and (3), respectively.

- (2) Òbí mèrè Ọjhi ihyne. 'Òbi is doing something for Ọjhi.'  
(3) Òbí mèsì Ọjhi ihyne. 'Òbi is doing something to Ọjhi.'  
(with the meaning of something detrimental to Ọjhi's interests).

Ca.6.1.(ii) Agentive

- (3) (a)  $P \longrightarrow V + A + O$   
(b)  $\longrightarrow A + V + O$   
(c)  $\longrightarrow (\text{affix} + NP_1) + V + NP_2$

(d)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + (V+affix) + NP_2$

(4) Example: Ezè vùrù abọ. 'Ezè carried a basket.'

Ca.6.1.(iii) Instrumental (subjectivized)

(5) (a)  $P \longrightarrow V + O + A + I$

(b)  $\longrightarrow I + V + O + \emptyset$

(c)  $\longrightarrow (affix+NP_1) + V + NP_2$

(d)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + (V+affix) + NP_2$

(6) Example: Ufèrè vùrù ahyihya. 'The wind carried the leaves away.'

Ca.6.1. (iv) 'Comitative'

(7) (a)  $P \longrightarrow A + V + O$

(b)  $\longrightarrow ((affix+NP_1) + (affix+NP_2)) + V + NP_3$

(c)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + NP_2 + (affix+V) + NP_3$

(d) (i)  $NP_1 + NP_2 + (V+affix) + NP_3$

(ii)  $NP_{pl.} + (V+affix) + NP_{pl.}/NP_{sg}$

(iii)  $NP_{sg} + (V+affix) + NP_{pl.}$

The 'comitative' affix is -rI, and when substituted in

(d) (i) to (iii), with lexical items for the NPs we get, respectively (8), (9), (10).

(8) Òbi nà Ọjhi gwùrì egwu. 'Òbi and Ọjhi are playing with each other.'

(9) Ùmùntàkìrî gwùrì egwu. 'The children are playing with one another.'

(10) Òbí wèrì hna. 'Òbi is taking each of them.'

Ca.6.2. 'Local' Cases

Both the 'locational' and the 'directional' subcategories

of the 'Locative' case have the same characteristics, differing only in the affixes which they select, as listed above.

Their grammatical characteristics are as follows.

- (11) (a)  $P \longrightarrow A + V + O \pm D + L$   
 (b)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (\text{affix} + \text{affix} + NP_4)$   
 (c)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (\text{affix} + \text{prep} + NP_4)$   
 (d)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + (V + \text{affix}) + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (\text{prep} + NP_4)$   
 (e)  $\longrightarrow NP_1 + (V + \text{affix}) \pm NP_3 + NP_2 + (\text{prep} + NP_4)$

The 'Dative' case is optional when the 'Locative' case occurs. Assuming its occurrence in the (e) above, we get (12) and (13) below for the 'locational' and the 'directional' 'Locative', respectively. There is only one preposition in the language which can occur with the 'locative' NP, that is 'na' (orthographically written 'na/n').

- (12) Òbî dhòsà oco akwụkwọ n'elū. 'Òbi is putting/placing a book on the top of the chair.' ('Òbi is-putting-on chair book on top.')

- (13) Òbî dhòàhnà oco akwụkwọ n'elū. 'Òbi is removing a book from the top of the chair.' ('Òbi is-putting-from chair book on top.')

Considering (11) above, and its exemplifications (12) and (13), as far as Igbo is concerned, Fillmore is correct when he says, "locational and directional elements do not contrast but are superficial differences determined either by the constituent structure or by the character of the associated verb."<sup>1</sup> In

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1. Fillmore: Op.cit, p.25.

this language the differentiating elements are the affixes. But Fillmore's distinction of 'inner L' and 'out L' does not apply in Igbo.

Fillmore's definition of 'Dative' as "the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb" does not apply in Igbo, as 'oco' 'chair' in (12) and (13) which represents 'Dative' show. This type of dative I distinguish however, as dative-locative (See Ca.9.2.(iv)).

Ca.7. Justification of the rules given

The justification for the rules given above whereby 'affix + NP' is located some distance from the V, then is transformationally brought next to the V, and the 'affix' is later taken into the Verb (V), is the existence of similar structures in normal use in the language. They are as follows.

(i) The 'Dative-Benefactive' case is sometimes found following an NP in question sentences, as in (14) (a) the response to which may be (14) (b).

(14) (a) Ọ hnùrù ònye /re gĩ/? ('Who did he see for you?')

'As far as you are concerned, whom did he see?'

(b) Ọ /hnùrù m/ Òbi. ('He saw Òbi for me.') 'He saw

Òbi, as far as I am concerned.'

(ii) Secondly, verbal clauses in sequence are combined into one by the deletion of common elements and compounding the verbs, as in (12). Compound and Complex Verbs (See p.46 F) originate from Verbal Clauses from which common elements have

been deleted and the verbs combined.

(15) Ọ gbàrà ọsọ + Ọ rùrù Àba. 'He ran + He reached Àba.'

→ Ọ gbàrùrù Àba n'ọsọ. 'He reached Àba by running.'

Observe how 'rùrù Àba' now occurs following the verb 'gba', and how 'ọsọ' now occurs in final position with the preposition bringing out its 'Instrumental' case function.

(iii) There are what I call 'movable particles' which can either occur as particles following NPs or as suffixes in verbs. Such particles are sị/-sị 'Number', kwA/-kwA 'Reference' etc., nì/-nì 'Reference', dị/-dị 'Reference', thà/-thà 'Modality', and rị/-rị 'Comparative'. Consider (16) and (17).

(16) Ọ /gàrathà/ ahya? 'Could he have gone to the market?'

(b) Ọ gàrà /ahya thà?/ 'Could he have gone to the market?'

(17) (a) /Anyị dị/ kà ọ nà àcọ. 'It is we, you know, that he is looking for.'

(b) Anyị kà ọ /nà àcọdị/. 'It is we, you know, that he is looking for.'

The rule which initially separates the case affixes from the verbs has a grammatical value in that it helps to isolate the case affixes from, for instance, the tense and asp affixes and to show that their grammatical origins are different. It is particularly useful in those instances where affixes belonging to different grammatical categories have identical phonological shape, as in the case of the 'past tense' suffix and the 'Benefactive' suffix. (See Ca.8.1., pp. 257 below).

(iv) For preposing the affix to the NP, this is justified by the existence of na + NP (the prepositional phrase), and also of kwà + NP (e.g. kwà ụbọcị 'every day'), mà + NP + mà + NP (e.g. mà Òbì mà Ọjhi 'both Òbì and Ọjhi') and NP + nà + NP (e.g. Òbì nà Ọjhi 'Òbì and Ọjhi').

#### Ca.8. Detailed Discussion of Grammatical Cases

The 'Dative -Benefactive', the 'Dative-Recipient/Receptive', and the 'Comitative' cases will now be discussed in some detail, beginning with the first one.

##### Ca.8.1. The 'Dative-Benefactive' Case affix<sup>1</sup>

Before discussing details of the grammar of the 'Dative-Benefactive' case, it will be advantageous to set out the phonological and distributional characteristics of the affix which indicates it, which are as follows.

(i) The particle which indicates the 'Dative-Benefactive' can occur as a pre-position, its vowel being assimilated to that of the final syllable of the preceding word. It can occur as a pre-position only in two types of sentences: the Interrogative, and a type of the Imperative sentence.

Examples of Interrogative sentences are as follows:

- (18) Ọ gàrà ìngbe ọle /re gĩ/? 'When did he go, as far as you are concerned?' ('He went time which for you?')

1. J.Spencer: Op.cit, p.16, says of Case in Igbo, "...Case can only be determined by the position of the Noun in the sentence." He recognizes four Cases: Nominative, Objective, Possessive and Dative, the Dative being expressed by means of the particle lu added to a verb to form a final syllable, and denotes something done to or for an individual." The particle is the Onitsha equivalent of the -ra/E being discussed here.

- (19) Ọ gwàrà onye ọle /re yā/? 'Whom did he tell, as far as he is concerned?' ('He told person which for him?')

Such questions imply that the questioner denies strongly that the 'action' denoted by the verb was ever performed, and invites the person to whom the question is put, or the referent of the noun following the pre-position to show evidence that the contrary was true.

Its occurrence as a pre-position in Imperative sentences is restricted to the co-occurrence of the participle 'njhe' and the noun 'ngwa', as in (20) and (21), respectively.

- (20) Njhē /re m̄/ kà anyị gawa. 'For my sake let us keep going.'

- (21) Ngwa /ra m̄/ kà anyị málite. 'For my sake let's begin.'

Such sentences are used when there is something to which the speaker objects and wants to disregard -- he consequently urges his hearer to do the same so that together they can turn their minds to something else considered by them to be more relevant. The translations given for (20) and (21) are rough approximations.

(ii) As a verb suffix, the vowel of the particle is assimilated to that of the preceding syllable, as in (22). But when the preceding syllable has any other vowel except -e or -a, the vowel of the case suffix may either be assimilated or be merely harmonized to -re/-ra, as in (23) and (24).

- (22) (a) /Gwàrà/ m̄ ya okwu. 'Tell him something for me.'



- (b) /Nyèrè/ ānyị hna aka. 'Help them on our behalf.'
- (c) /Nyòrò/ m̄ ya anya. 'Take a look at it for me.'
- (d) /Bìrì/ yā hny aka. 'Touch it for him.'
- (23) (a) /Lùòrò (Lùòrè)/ m̄ ya. 'Throw it for me.'
- (b) /Zùòrò (Zùòrè)/ ānyị ya. 'Buy it for us.'
- (24) (a) 0 /gbūtùùrù (gbūtùùrè)/ hnà osisi. 'He cut down a tree for them'
- (b) 0 /cììrì (cììrè)/ gị akwụkwọ. 'He carried away books for you.'

(iii) In a Compound Complex verb form, the suffix occurs in each of the compounded verb stems, as in (25) and (26).

- (25) Ezè /rnyurufururù/ Òbì ọrny. 'Ezè did some more work for Òbì.'
- (26) Ezè /werèzùùrù/ àkwah. 'Ezè took, for himself, some more eggs to complete the number.'

(iv) It can occur in Non-finite verb forms - the Simple Infinitive, and Simple Participle, and in verb-derived nouns, as in (27), (28) and (29) respectively.

- (27) imèrè ya hny 'to do it for him'
- (28) mmere yā hny 'doing it for him'
- (29) òmere òhnà ozi. 'Worker-for-the-public'

(v) It can occur in Imperative clauses (as in (20) to (23) above) as well as in non-imperative clauses (as (18), (19), (24) to (27)). This is one of the distinguishing marks between it and the phonologically identical past tense -rA/E, which cannot occur in the Imperative clause.

(vi) It can co-occur with all other suffixes, and its position in the verb form when these others also occur is as follows.

(All the suffixes mentioned here which have not yet been dealt with will be discussed later on in the work, at different relevant places).

(a) It always precedes *-rì* 'Comparative', *-nì* '2nd Person plural pronoun', *-thà* 'modality', and *-ni* 'Reference', because these suffixes always occur finally in verb forms, as in (30).

(30) (a) /Kwèrerì/ imě ya. 'First of all, agree in yourself to do it.'

(b) Unu /wèrenì/ yā. 'Take it for yourselves, you people.'

(c) Ò merethà/ m ya? 'Could he have begun to do it for me?'

(d) Anyì /emerelenì/ yā hny. 'We have therefore begun to do it for him.'

(b) (i) It precedes or follows *-kwa* 'Reference', etc, *-dì* 'Reference', as in (31) and (32), and also *-cha* 'Number', and *-tù* 'Comparative'.

(31) (a) O /wèrekwele/ yā. 'He has taken it for himself, even as he had said.'

(b) O /wèkwerele/ yā. 'He has taken it even as he said.'

(32) (a) O /nāradila/ yā. 'He has accepted it for himself inspite of circumstances.'

(b) O /nādirila/ yā. 'He has accepted it for himself'

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inspite of circumstances.'

The difference between (a) and (b) of (31) and (32) is one of meaning-emphasis change, of which there is no idiomatic may of bringing out in English.

(ii) It precedes -wA 'Continuative' when the correlated NP is the subject of the clause, but follows it when the NP is a Complement, as in (33) (b).

(33) (a) O /wèrewele/ yā. 'He has gone on taking it for himself.'

(b) O /wèrerele/ m̄ ya. 'He has gone on taking it for me.'

(iii) It precedes -lA 'Perfective', and -ghI 'Insistence' when the correlated NP is the subject of the clause, as in (34) and (35).

(34) (a) Ò /garāghi/ ahyā. 'He didn't go to the market for himself.'

(b) Unù /werēghi/ ya. 'You people had better take it for yourselves now, I insist.'

(35) (a) O /kwūrule/ okwū. 'He has done his own share of speaking.'

(b) Unù /emerēle/ ɔrnū. 'You have done your own share of the work.'

(36) (a) Ò /meghīre/ m ozi. 'He did not do any work for me.'

(b) Ò /merēghi/ m ozi. 'He did not begin to do any work for me.'

(37) (a) Ò /zūlara/ m̄ òkpu. 'He has begun to buy a hat for

me.'

(b) Ọ /zūrula/ m̄ òkpu. 'He has begun to buy for me,  
a hat.'

(c) It follows all other suffixes, that is all other 'case' suffixes, 'Number' suffixes (except '-cha'), 'Comparison' suffixes (except '-rì' and '-tu'), the aspect suffixes -A/O 'Intensive', and -rìsì 'Inclusive', and the past tense suffix - and A/E. A few examples only of these are given in (38) to (43).

(38) Ọ /vūahnarala/ m̄ oco n'èzi. 'He has carried the chair away for me from the yard.'

(39) Ọ /kpàtààrà/ ònwe yā mme kpāāhū. 'He brought trouble upon himself.'

(40) /Wèlisere/ m̄ akwūkwo. 'Take away the books for me.'

(41) Ọ /rnūkārīalara/ gī ọrnu. 'He works far too much for you.'

(42) /Jùoro/ ānyī<sup>ya</sup> | ajuju à. 'Put this question to him on our behalf.'

(43) Ọ nà /àtharīsiri/ m̄ ya utha. 'He is still blaming him on my account up till now.'

When the 'case' suffix, -rA/E, co-occurs with the past tense suffix, -rA/E, the latter is characteristically abbreviated into a vowel (See Tense T.3.3.7., page 101), as in (44).

(44) (a) Ọ /jùùurù/ m̄ yà ọyi. 'He cooled it for me.'

(b) Ọ /dīīrì/ nnà ya ndhū. 'He lived for his father.'

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(c) O /sèèrè/ hnà okwu. 'It caused trouble for them.'

However, there are problems connected with these two phonologically identical affixes which will be discussed later below (see p. 278 ),

Ca.8.2. Functions of the NP correlated with --rA/E 'Dative-Benefactive'

So far, in translating the Igbo clauses into English, the preposition 'for' has been used, thus suggesting 'benefactive' case meaning for the affix plus the NP correlated with it. But as a matter of fact the meaning of the case realized by the affix and its NP is wider than that. The construction can be interpreted by expressions including 'by' ('Agentive'), 'to' ('Dative-Recipient'), as well as by 'on behalf of', 'for the sake of', 'for one's purpose', etc. These differences in meaning are the result of the syntactic function of the correlated NP, as well as of features 'registered' in the verb (as Fillmore puts it). The correlated NP can occur as the Subject of the clause or as a Complement (These two terms are used to avoid the terms 'Nominative', 'Object' and 'Accusative' which will confuse rather than help here.) The occurrence of the correlated NP as Subject is considered first.

Ca.8.2.1. Correlated NP as Subject

When the correlated NP, representing an animate referent, occurs as Subject (that is when the 'Dative-Benefactive' is subjunctivized) it can have one or other or a combination of

the following case functions: (a) Agentive, (b) Dative-Benefactive, (c) Dative-Recipient I, depending on the features of the verb in the clause.

Consider the following examples which, as they stand, are ambiguous.

- (45) Òbî vùùrù abọ. (i) 'Òbî picked up the basket by himself.' (Ag.)  
 (ii) 'Òbî picked up the basket for himself.' (Ben.)  
 (iii) 'Òbî picked up the basket and put it on himself.' (D/Rec.)
- (46) Òbî kpùùrù òkpu. (i) 'Òbî put on a hat by himself.' (Ag.)  
 (ii) 'Òbî put on a hat for a purpose'. (Ben.)  
 (iii) 'Òbî put on a hat. (Dat/Rec.)
- (47) Ezè gbùùrù osisi. (i) 'Ezè cut a stick by himself. (Ag.)  
 (ii) 'Ezè cut a stick for himself. (Ben)
- (48) Ezè rnùùrà ọrnu. ((i)) 'Ezè did the work by himself. (Ag.)  
 (ii) 'Ezè did some of the work for his own benefit.' (e.g. as his own share) (Ben)
- (49) Enyì dīìrì ndhù. (i) 'Enyì came to life by himself (after he'd been presumed dead.)' (Ag.)  
 (ii) 'Enyì came to life for himself (since no one perhaps was interested

in him) (Ben)

(iii) 'Enyi became alive in himself'

(Dat/Rec.)

(In (49) the stative verb *idī* 'to be' is causativized, or transformed from a 'static' to a 'dynamic' verb by the occurrence of the -rA/E. (See more on p. 273, below).

However, the ambiguities are resolved by the occurrence of some other expressions: the 'Agentive' and 'Benefactive' senses requiring the occurrence of the reflexive form 'ònwe' 'self', and the 'Recipient' adding a 'locative' prepositional phrase. Adding the appropriate expressions to obtain the correct interpretations of (45) to (49) we get (45') to (49'). The added expressions are marked out by //.

- (45') (a) Òbî vùùrù abọ /n'ònwe yā/. 'Òbi picked up the basket by himself.'
- (b) Òbî vùùrù /ònwe yā/ abọ. 'Òbi picked up the basket for himself.'
- (c) Òbî vùùrù abọ /n'isi yā/. 'Òbi picked up the basket and put it on his head.'
- (46') (a) Òbî kpùùrù òkpu /n'ònwe yā/. 'Òbi put on a hat by himself.'
- (b) Òbî kpùùrù /ònwe yā/ òkpu. 'Òbi put on a hat for himself.'
- (c) Òbî kpùùrù òkpu /n'isi yā/. 'Òbi put a hat on his head.'
- (47') (a) Ezè gbùùrù osisì /n'ònwe yā/. 'Ezè cut a stick by

himself.'

(b) Ezè gbùùrù /ònwe yā/ osisi. 'Ezè cut a stick for himself.'

(48') (a) Ezè rnùùrà ọrnu /n'ònwe yā/. 'Ezè did the work by himself.'

(b) Ezè rnùùrà /ònwe yā/ ọrnu. 'Ezè did the work for himself.'

(c) Ezè rnùùrà ọrnu /n'kè ya/. 'Ezè did his own share of work.'

(49') (a) Enyì dīìrì ndhù /n'ònwe yā/. 'Enyì came to life in/by himself.'

(b) Enyì dīìrì /ònwe yā/ ndhù. 'Enyì came to life/lived for himself.'

It should be pointed out that what the extra expressions do is to focus one of the case functions of the subject NP; they do not necessarily obliterate the other functions. It should also be observed how the 'Agentive' and the 'Benefactive' functions are linked together supporting Fillmore's statement: "the occurrence of B (Benefactive) expressions ... is dependent on the presence of an A (Agentive)."<sup>1</sup> And the function of 'Òbi' in (45') (c) and (46') (c) supports the analysis of Anderson leading to his term 'dative-locative'.<sup>2</sup> What the

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1. Op.cit., p.31.

2. Op.cit., pp.103-4.



'locative' prepositional expressions do is to specify the 'location' on the body of the referent of the NP. However, the 'dative locative' function is not limited to personal (and animate) nouns in Igbo, but applies also to inanimate nouns too, as in (50) and (51).

(50) Nkwù thîrîrî ùthî /n'ony yā/ bha òkpurù ọjhi. 'The palm-tree grew from the top of it into the shade of the iroko tree.' ('The palm-tree grew-to-(itself) growth from top of it enter the underside of iroko-tree.')

(51) Uzò sààrà mbara /sìte na mmàlìte yā ruo ọgwụgwụ ya./ 'The road was wide from the beginning of it to its end.' ('The road became wide(ness) from beginning of it reach ending of it.')

In these two sentences (50) and (51) -rA/E indicates in the verbs something done 'by' the referent of the subject noun 'to itself', and the prepositional expressions specify the place on the referent where the 'action' was effected. This leads into another case function which the suffix can imply when the correlated NP is a subject.

In (45) to (49) above, the subjects are animate nouns, but the subjects can be inanimate nouns, which therefore have the case function of 'Instrumental'. In such instances 'n'ònwè + pronoun' which indicates 'agentive' or 'instrumental' may or may not be overtly expressed. In the following examples the phrase is expressed but made optional by being enclosed in (), and the NP representing the 'objective' case is underlined.

The subject is enclosed in //.

- (52) /Iyî/ vùùrù ugbo (n'ònwe yā) gawa. 'The stream carried away the boat.' (The stream carried the boat by itself kept going.)
- (53) /Ufèrè/ fèèrè ahyihya (n'ònwe yā) fefùo. 'The wind carried away the leaves.' ('The wind blew the leaves by itself blew-lost.')
- (54) /Idheē/ sòòrò (òsuso) (n'ònwe yā) gafée. 'The flood flowed past.' ('The flood flowed flowing by itself went-past.')
- (55) /Jî/ thîîrî (ùthî) (n'ònwe yā) ruo n'elu osisi. 'The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.' ('The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.')
- (55) /Iwê/ wèèrè Ezè ruo n'Òbi. 'Ezè was angry even with Òbi.'

(Observe that in (54) and (55) we <sup>have</sup> true 'cognate objects' in (òsuso) and (ùthî) which are 'nominalizations of the 'process' identified by the verb.

When neither 'agentive' nor 'instrumental' function is implied, the -rA/E does not occur. Consider the following paired examples. In the (a) of each, the subject may be said to have 'Nominative' function, as defined by Anderson (".... 'nominative, which term is used here for a semantic (case) element and is not to be confused with the label commonly used for the subjective (and predicative) case inflexion in languages like Latin...nom is the only obligatory case, in that

the others may be absent from any particular clause."<sup>1</sup>)

- (57) (a) Ezè /vùrù/ abọ. 'Ezè carried a basket.'  
 (b) Ezè /vùùrù/ abọ (n'ònwè yā). 'Ezè carried a basket  
 (by himself!) (Agentive)
- (58) (a) Uzò /sàrà/ mbara. 'The road was wide.'  
 (b) Uzò /sààrà/ mbara ruo ahyā. 'The road was wide (by  
 itself) right to the market.' (Instrum.)
- (59) (a) Iwê /wèrè/ Ezè. 'Ezè was angry.' (Anger angered Eze)  
 (b) Iwê /wèèrè/ Ezè ruo n'aka m̄. 'Ezè was angry even  
 with me.' ('Anger angered Ezè (by itself) reached  
 my hand.') (Instrumental)

In the foregoing, 'Agentive' and 'Instrumental' constructions have been seen to be structurally identical. When, however, the 'agent' is animate and employs an 'instrument' in order to effect the action attributed to it, the 'Agentive' and the 'Instrumental' NPs are differentiated, the 'agentive' one functioning as subject while the 'instrumental' one functions as complement. Normally the construction involves two verbal clauses, the first one containing the 'instrument', and the second containing the person or thing affected by the use of the 'instrument'. Both functions as complements in their clauses. The grammar is as follows:

NP ('agentive') + (V+ra/E) + NP ('instrumental') + V + (NP ('Dat./'Loc.'/'Factive'))

Consider the following examples. The 'instrumental' NP is in //.

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1. cf. J. Lyons: op.cit, p.298, 'neutralization/recategorization'.



Ca.8.2.2. 'Causativization' by -rA/E

The suffix -rA/E in addition to indicating case functions also has a particular function which is restricted to certain types of verbs. It might be called 'causativization of non-causative verbs.' Its presence in 'static' verbs transforms them into 'dynamic'<sup>1</sup> verbs, or 'causative' verbs. Compare (b) with (a) in the following examples.

- (66) (a) Òbî /kpù/ òkpu. 'Òbi will wear a hat.' (i.e. it will sit on his head)  
 (b) Òbî /kpùrù/ òkpu. 'Òbi will put on a hat.' (i.e. he will take and put it on his head)
- (67) (a) Ezè /gùzò/ ọtọ. 'Ezè will stand up.' (i.e. will be in a standing posture/position)  
 (b) Ezè /gùzòrò/ ọtọ. 'Ezè<sup>will</sup> stand up.' (i.e. will make himself take a standing posture/position)
- (68) (a) Ènì /wù/ ezè. 'Ènì will be chief.' (i.e. he will be in that state/status)  
 (b) Ènì /wùrù/ ezè. 'Ènì will become chief.'
- (69) (a) Nwa gī /dì/ ndhù. 'Your child will live.'  
 (b) Nwa gī /dìrì/ ndhù. 'Your child<sup>will</sup> come to life/become alive.'
- (70) (a) Ọ /mà/ ya. 'He knows him.'  
 (b) Ọ /mārāla/ yā. 'He has acquired knowledge of him.'
- (71) (a) Ọ /kwēle/. 'He has agreed.'  
 (b) Ọ /kwērele/. 'He has convinced himself.'/'He has caused himself to agree or believe.'

1. cf. John Lyons: op.cit., pp.300-301.

- (72) (a) /Ce/ kà m byaa: 'Wait for me to come.'  
 (b) /Cèrè/ kà m bya. 'Exercise patience in waiting for me to come.'

Ca.8.2.3. Correlated NP as Complement.

When the NP correlated with the -rA/E suffix occurs as a Complement, it follows immediately after the verb (as an indirect object). Whether the NP functions are 'dative-benefactive' or as 'dative-recipient' I depends on the features 'registered' in the verb. Consider the following examples. The relevant NP is marked by //.

- (73) Ènì dèèrè /Ọjhi/ akwukwo. (i) 'Ènì wrote a letter for Ọjhi.' (B.) (ii) 'Ènì wrote a letter to Ọjhi.' (R.)  
 (74) Ezè kwùùrù /m/ okwu. (i) 'Ezè spoke for me.' (B.) (ii) 'Ezè spoke to me.' (R.)  
 (75) Ezè gààràa/nne yā/ ozi. 'Ezè ran an errand for his mother.' (B.)  
 (76) Òbí gbùùrù /hnà/ egghu. 'Òbí slaughtered a goat for them.' (B.)  
 (77) Anyì kwèèrè /unù/ èkèle. 'We said a greeting to you (pl.)' (R.)  
 (78) O lùùrù /m/ ñkhumè. (i) 'He threw a stone down for me.' (B.) (ii) 'He threw a stone to/at me.' (R.)

Sometimes two NPs may be correlated to the suffix. In such instances the 'dative-benefactive' precedes the 'dative-recipient' and both occur before the direct object, as in the following examples where the NPs are marked out by //.

- (79) Ǫbí gǵààrà /m̄ nnē/ ozi. 'Ǫbi ran an errand on my behalf for my mother.'
- (80) Ǫdhā zǵtààrà /Ezè nwunyè ya/ akisi. 'Ǫdha bought a scarf for Ezè's wife on his (Ezè's) behalf.'
- (81) Ǫbi āwǵrǵla /ānyǵ hna/ ezè. 'Ǫbi has become, as far as we are concerned, a type of chief to/for them.'
- (82) Ǫ dǵrǵla /m̄ hna/ ikke. 'He has become, as far as I am concerned, a strong man for/to them.'

Sentences like (81) and (82) involving the verbs *iwū* and *idǵ* usually imply sarcasm.

If the verb of the clause is an inherently three-place verb, only the first complement is correlated with the suffix, as in the following instances.

- (83) Ezè zǵèrè /Ǫjhi/ Ǫbi ozi. 'Ezè gave a message to Ǫbi on behalf of Ǫjhi.'
- (84) Ezè āgwarala /m̄/ ya ihyne mēre. 'Ezè has told him on my behalf, what happened.'

When the correlated Complement NP is predicated and thematized, it occurs outside the clause in which it belongs, as in (b) of (85) and (86) where it is marked by //.

- (85) (a) Ǫ mèèrè /gǵ/ ya. 'He did it for you.'
- (b) Ǫ wū /gǵ/ kǵ Ǫ mèèrè ya. 'It was you that he did it for.'
- (86) (a) Ǫ kwūūrū /m̄/ okwu. 'He spoke for/to me.'
- (b) Ǫ wū /m̄/ kǵ Ǫ kwūūrū okwu. 'It was I/me that he spoke for/to.'

Ca.8.2.4. Pronominalization of Complements and Ambiguities

Pronominalization can cause ambiguities. This applies both when the -rA/E suffix is not involved and when it is involved. Thus (87) can have two meanings.

- (87) O znì m̀ Ezè. (i) 'He will show me to Ezè.'  
 (ii) 'He will show Ezè to me.'

This applies to Complements when -rA/E is involved. Consider the following.

- (88) (a) O lèèrè /m̀ (anyì)/ Ezè. 'He inspected me/us for Ezè.'/'He inspected Ezè for us/me.'  
 (b) O lèèrè /m̀ (anyì)/ ya. 'He inspected me/us for him.'/'He inspected him for me/us.'  
 (89) (a) O lèèrè /gì (unù)/ Ezè. 'He inspected you (sg/pl) for Ezè.'/'He inspected Ezè for you (sg/pl).'  
 (b) O lèèrè /gì (unù) ya/. 'He inspected you (sg/pl) for him.'/'He inspected him for you (sg/pl).'  
 (90) (a) O lèèrè /yà (hna)/ Ezè. 'He inspected him/them for Ezè.'/'He inspected Ezè for him/them.'  
 (b) O lèèrè /yà hnụ./ 'He inspected him for him (another).'  
 /He inspected him (other) for him.'  
 /hna ya./ 'He inspected them for him.'/'He inspected him for them.'

Such instances provide fruitful sources of quibbling in Igbo.

Ca.8.2.5. More Ambiguities

When, as indicated above, the subject NP is correlated



with the -rA/E suffix and thus functions either as 'Agentive', 'Dative-Benefactive', or 'Dative-Recipient I', or even 'Dative-Locative', and these functions are not made explicit in the ways already shown, grammatical (and therefore semantic) ambiguity arises. This is particularly so when two or more -rA/E suffixes co-occur. Such ambiguity does not often arise when the correlated NP is a Complement, as this is expressed obligatorily. Consider the following examples.

- (91) Òbí zùrù akwà. (i) 'Òbí bought a cloth.'  
 (ii) 'Òbí will buy a cloth by himself.'  
 (iii) 'Òbí will buy a cloth for himself.'

- (92) (a) Òbí gàrà ahya. (i) 'Òbí went to the market.'  
 (ii) 'Òbí will go to the market by himself.'  
 (iii) 'Òbí will go to the market for himself.'

- (b) Òbí gààrà ahya. (i) 'Òbí went to the market by/for himself.'  
 (ii) 'Òbí used to go to the market.'

Compare (91) and (92) with (93) and (94) respectively.

- (93) Òbí zùrù ò akwà. (i) 'Òbí bought a cloth from me.' (for/by himself)  
 (ii) 'Òbí will buy a cloth for me.'  
 (by himself).

- (94) (a) Òbí gàrà ò ahya. 'Òbí will go to the market for me.'  
 (b) Òbí gààrà ò ahya. 'Òbí went to the market for me.'

The ambiguities observable in (91) to (93) are due to the phonological identity of the -rA/E 'case' and the -rA/E 'past tense' suffixes, in the first place, and in the second place because these caluses are considered in isolation. In situational contexts such ambiguities are hardly noticed; and where there is a likelihood of it happening various specifying expressions relevant to case function or to tense are incorporated in the utterance.

Ca.8.2.6. Contrasting the -rA/E 'case' and the -rA/E 'tense'

The only phonological characteristics the two types of suffix have in common are their form and the behaviour of their vowels. They are distinct from each other in the following ways.

- (i) The 'tense' suffix can be duplicated or triplicated, the 'case' suffix occurs once only in any given environment.
- (ii) When duplicated or triplicated, the initial occurrence of the 'tense' suffix is usually abbreviated to a vowel, the 'case' suffix is never abbreviated whenever it occurs.
- (iii) When a duplicated or triplicated form of the 'tense' suffix is combined with a verb form that has the 'Intensive' vowel suffix, both the double and triple forms lose one unit each, being replaced in the verb form by the vowel suffix. The 'case' suffix does not give place to the vowel suffix.
- (iv) When both suffixes co-occur, the 'tense' suffix precedes the 'case', and is abbreviated if there is only a single occurrence of it. But if there is more than one, then one

occurrence, the initial one, is abbreviated.

(v) The 'case' suffix can occur in the two units of a Compound Complex verb form, while the 'tense' suffix can only occur in the second unit of it, as in (95) where the 'case' has single and the 'tense' suffix has double underlining.

(95) (a) 0 /wērēfūrū/ madhū. 'He took some more people.'

(b) 0 /lērēzūrū/ anya. 'He looked more to satisfy himself.'

(vi) Whereas the 'case' suffix can occur outside the verb form, the 'tense' one cannot.

(vii) The 'case' suffix can occur in the Imperative clause, the 'tense' cannot.

(viii) The 'case' suffix can causativize stativ~~e~~ verbs while the other cannot.

(ix) The verb phrase in which the 'tense' suffix occurs in a Complex Clause Type II can be transformed into a type of adjective, but a similar verb phrase with the 'case' suffix cannot be so transformed, as in (96) and (97).

(96) E siri̇ any ēsi. 'The meat was cooked.'

→ any e siri̇ ēsi. 'meat which was cooked.'

→ ēsiri̇ēsi any 'cooked meat'

(97) E siiri̇ ṁ any ēsi. 'The meat was cooked for me.'

→ any e siiri̇ ṁ ēsiri. 'meat which was cooked for me'

→ \* ēsiiri̇ṁēsiri any \* 'cooked for me meat'

These nine facts alone are sufficient to show that the two suffixes are grammatically so distinct that their phonological

similarity is not strong enough to justify regarding them as one and the same element being used for different purposes.

Ca.8.2.7. The 'Dative-Recipient' with -si suffix

The 'Dative-Recipient' correlated with the suffix -si may be distinguished from that which is correlated with -ra/E, by calling it 'Dative-Recipient' II. The two differ from each other in that while the 'Dative-Recipient' I depends very much on the features 'registered' in the verb to distinguish it from the 'Dative-Benefactive' when the -ra/E suffix occurs, the 'Dative-Recipient' II is overtly and clearly distinguished by the occurrence of the suffix -si, and it cannot have a 'benefactive' sense at all. Furthermore, except in very limited instances to be pointed out, the NP which, with the suffix -si, realizes the 'Dative-Recipient' II normally occurs as a Complement.

The vowel of the suffix neither harmonizes nor is it assimilated to that of the preceding or following syllable. The suffix has not been mentioned or discussed anywhere else by anyone before now.

Only in seven verbs does the suffix have the ordinary function of indicating, without overtones, the participant affected by the 'action' denoted by the verb. These are:

(98) irēsi 'to sell to'

(99) imāsi 'to be pleasing to'

(100) ikwēsi 'to be suitable to', 'to benefit'

(101) ikpāsi 'to make overtures to'

- (102) ig'ōsì 'to show to' (Onitsha dialect)  
 (103) iròsì 'to play (with) to'  
 (104) igwùsì 'to play/joke with (to)'

With other verbs the suffix also implies hostile or inimical 'action'. Examples of these are:

- (105) imēsì (ihyne) 'to give ill-treatment to'  
 (106) ikhāsì (anya) 'to be haughty to'  
 (107) ilùsì (òg'ù) 'to fight against'  
 (108) igbūsì (ògbuù) 'to bear malice to'  
 (109) irnōsì (irno) 'to be unfriendly to'  
 (110) ikhòsì (ụkà) 'to quarrel with/take legal action against'  
 (111) ighāsì (ùgha) 'to tell a lie against'  
 (112) iwēsì (iwe) 'to be angry with'

When the correlated NP occurs as a Complement it follows immediately after the verb and before the direct object, unless a 'Benefactive' NP also occurs, in which case the Dative-Recipient II must occur second after the verb, as in (107) and (108). In (113) to (116) the Dat-Rec. II is enclosed in //.

- (113) O rèsìrì //Ezè/ akwukwo. 'He sold books to Ezè.'  
 (114) O gwùsìrì //m/ egwu. 'He played/joked with me.'  
 (115) Òbì wèsìrì //hnà/ iwe. 'Òbì was angry with/against them.'  
 (116) O ghàsìrì //yà/ ùgha. 'He told a lie against him.'

In the following examples the 'Dat-Rec' II occurs after the 'Benefactive' NP.

- (117) Ezè rèsìrìrà m //Òbì/ akwà. 'Ezè sold a cloth to Obi for me.'

- (118) O wèsìrì unù /Ezè/ iva. 'He was angry with Ezè for your sake.'

With the two verbs *imāsi* and *ikwēsi*, the Dat.-Rec. is the only Complement that occurs, and may be followed by a prepositional phrase indicating the manner, as in (119) and (120).

- (119) O māsìrì /m/ na mma. 'It is pleasing to me in beauty.'

- (120) O kwèsìrì /gi/ n'òmume. 'It befits you to do (it).'

With *ikwēsi*, when the NP correlated with the *-si* is also the subject of the clause, no Complement occurs, but the reflexive phrase 'n'ònwe+pronoun' may occur, as in (121).

- (121) /O/ kwèsìrì (n'ònwe yā). 'It is fitting (in itself).

With *imāsi* and other verbs, when the correlated NP is also a subject, the phrase 'ònwe+pronoun' occurs as Complement.

- (122) /Hnā/ māsìrì ònwe hnā. 'They are pleasing to themselves.' / 'They like each other.'

But with other verbs the direct object also occurs along with the reflexive Complement. This is obligatory.

- (123) I mèsìrì /ònwe gī ihyne ọjọō./ 'You did something wrong to yourself.'

- (124) Unù lùsìrì /ònwe unù ọg'ù/. 'You fought against yourselves.'

The suffix *-si* (like the *-ra/E*) cannot occur without an NP to which it is correlated. If it thus occurs, the clause is ungrammatical. Consider (125) (c).

- (125) (a) O rèrè akwà. 'He sold cloths.'

- (b) O rèsìrì m akwà. 'He sold cloths to me.'

(c) ɛ̀0 rèsìrì akwà. 'He sold cloths to.'

Another function of the suffix which needs to be pointed out especially is that it turns non-affective verbs into affective verbs, as in the list (99) - (112).

#### Ca.8.2.8. The Comitative Case

The Comitative Case is represented in a clause by the suffix -rI and a correlated NP which must be either a plural noun in form or in meaning, or be a conjoined expression. Thus the Comitative case has the additional function of realizing the notion 'plural'.

Consider these examples. The correlated NP is marked by //.

(126) /Hnã/ gwùrì egwu. 'They are playing with each other.'

(127) /Anyì/ kpàrì ykà. 'We are conversing together.'

(128) /Nnà hnà/ warì ohya. 'Father and company are dividing up the farmland.'

(129) /Òbi nà Ọjhì/ nà àkparì ubùbò. 'Òbi and Ọjhì are telling stories to one another/are chatting.'

The plural idea which the case also indicates is not limited to the subject of the clause, but applies also to the object, and, in the case of 'action' verbs, to the verb as well. Thus when the subject is singular in form or meaning, the object must be plural in form or meaning, as in (130) to (132).

(130) Ezè nà àwarì /nkhu./ 'Ezè is splitting pieces of firewood.'

(131) Àdha nà àkparịsị /ug'ū./ Àdha is picking the leaves of the fluted pumpkin.' (Here the -sị suffix indicates that object NP is plural)

(132) Òbì nà ewèrì /hna/. 'Òbì is taking (each of) them.'

Each of the sentences (126) to (132) can have the additional meaning of doing something of mutual benefit to the 'actors' if the subject is plural, or one doing something to his benefit, if the subject is singular.

The suffix often occurs with the 'locative' -ba suffix, and this had led Professor Carnochan to take them together as one 'aspect' (See 'Aspects', p. 112 )

(133) Hna nà /àzụrịta/ ahyā. 'They trade mutually together.'

(134) Hna nà /àbharịta/ m̄bāa. 'They are threatening each other.'

#### Ca.8.2.9. Co-occurrence of -rì with -sị and -ra/E

The Comitative and the Dative Cases can co-occur as follows: the Comitative with the Dative-Recipient' II, and the Comitative with the Dative-Benefactive, as in (135) and (136) respectively.

(135) Òbì nà Ọjhi nà èmesịrịta ònwe hnā ihyne ọjọọ. 'Òbì and Ọjhi mutually ill-treat one another.'

(136) Òbì nà Ọjhi nà ègburịrị <sup>are</sup> osisi m̄. 'Òbì and Ọjhi between them cutting my sticks for themselves thereby depriving me of their benefit.'

#### Ca.9. The 'Locative' Cases

The suffixes connected with the 'Locative' cases are given in Ca.4. They are represented here under their categories and



with their semantic senses as follows:

## I. Locational

- (a) Adessive: (i) -sa 'on/upon', 'at/by'  
 (ii) -kwàsa 'upon'/'onto'  
 (iii) \*gidhe 'against', 'on/upon'  
 (iv) -rà 'all over' (spacial)
- (b) Inessive: The preposition 'na' in its meaning as 'in', 'inside' is used, although it can also mean 'at', 'on', 'by'. However, often the phrase 'nime' 'inside' is used for the inessive sense of 'na'.

## II. Directional

- (a) Ablative: (i) -la 'away from and towards'/'to'  
 (ii) -ahna 'away from', 'aside'  
 (iii) -lahna/-làhna 'away from to beyond'
- (b) Allative: (i) -tù 'to/towards' (downwards)  
 (ii) -dhàx 'to/towards' (downwards)  
 (iii) -g'o 'to/towards' (upwards)  
 (iv) -tà 'to various directions'  
 (v) -tA 'to/towards' (along any axis or in any direction)
- (c) Illative: (i) -IghA/-I 'into'  
 (ii) -bhàx 'into'
- (d) Elicative: (i) -IsI 'out of'  
 (ii) -fùx 'out of'
- (e) Prolative/Prosecutive: (i) -du 'along' (external)

(ii) -jhex 'along' (external)

(iii) -mìx 'along' (internal)

The starred forms are cognate with free verbal forms with which also they share the same phonological shapes. They have not before now been regarded as suffixes, but they are here regarded as such forms, because, unlike other verbs, those verbs with which they are cognate can add them on as suffixes. Thus we get the following forms:

- (1) ilāla 'to go towards'
- (2) idhādha 'to fall down to'
- (3) ibhābha 'to enter right in'
- (4) ifūfū 'to go further out'
- (5) ijhējhe 'to go along', 'to keep going along'
- (6) imīmī 'to go deeper into'

These forms, (1) to (6), are not reduplicated forms of verb roots, but consist of Prefix + Verb root + Verb root (the latter functioning as suffix, and is capable of being added to any other verb root than the one with which it is cognate). If they were reduplicated verb roots, the second vowel in each case (apart from (4) and (6)) would have been different from the third ones which, in reduplicated verbs (See pp. 37f. ), represent the root vowels. Compare (1) - (3) and (5) with the following reduplicated verb forms:

- (7) ilīlā 'to carry something too long' (ilā 'to pull out')
- (8) idhīdhā 'falling' (gerundial infinitive of idhā 'to fall')
- (9) ibhūbhā 'entering' (gerundial infinitive of ibhā 'to enter')

(10) ìjhiǵhe 'going' (gerundial infinitive of ìjhē 'to go')  
Verbs with u/ǹ and i/ì as root vowels do not have vowel alternation when reduplicated, so there is no difference, phonologically, between the forms we have in (4) and (6) and reduplicated forms of ìfǹ 'to go out' and imì 'to go/be deep', respectively.

Of the rest of the suffixes, the majority of them have nowhere been mentioned before as suffixes. The list consists of -kwàsa, -rà, -ahna, -lahna, -làhna, -tù, -g'o, -tà, -IsI, and -du.

Those which have hitherto been mentioned (along with others representing other grammatical categories) have been treated as lexical elements or 'meaning modifying suffixes'. This view of the suffixes of the language is the outcome of limiting attention to the verb form alone when considering such elements, instead of investigating them within the context of the clause or sentence as a whole. When this is done, it is seen that these elements have grammatical functions from which they derive their lexical, or possible lexical, meanings.

The prepositional phrase 'na+NP' has a vital role to play in the realization of the cases indicated by the suffixes, and so is given due recognition in what follows.

First the general characteristics of 'Locative' cases as they affect the organization of the clause are discussed. Then the following suffixes are discussed separately in some detail: -ahna, -lahna, -tà, -IsI and -du.

Ca.9.1. The Forms of the Locative Case Suffixes

Only three of the Locative Case suffixes undergo phonological changes in accordance with vowel harmony. These are -tA which is either -ta or -te; IghA which can be -igha or -ighe, and in addition can be abbreviated to -I (-i/-i); and -IsI which is either -isi or -isi. The vowels harmonize but are not assimilated to a preceding vowel.

Ca.9.2. Structure of Locative Clauses

As stated earlier, only instances of clauses with overt case suffixes are considered in this work. It will be helpful to give again the basic form of a Locative Clause. It is as follows:

(11) NP<sub>1</sub> + (V+affix) ± NP<sub>3</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> + (prep + NP<sub>4</sub>).

The facts about the Locative Clause are as follows.

(i) Any or all of the last three elements may not occur if they have already occurred in a previous clause, or somewhere earlier in the discourse. Consider (12) and (13).

(12) Q. Ûnù akwhàsala edè wa ahyihya n'elu? 'Have you heaped leaves on the cōcyams?' ('You (pl) poured+on+ Perfective cōcyam the leaves on top?')

A. (i) Anyì akwhàsala. 'We have heaped (it on it)'.

(ii) Anyì akwhàsala yā hny. 'We have heaped it on it.'

(iii) Anyì akwhàsala yā hny n'elu. 'We have heaped it on top of it.'

(It should be observed that A (ii) and (iii) can only be used

as answers when the respondent is being emphatic in his response. The same is true of (13) (A) (ii) and (iii).

(13) Q. . Ì sutele Òbi aka n'isi? 'Have you (accidentally) hit Òbi on the head?' ('You (sg) hit+to+Perfective Òbi hand on head?')

A. (i) Esūtele m̄ (ya). 'I have hit (him).' (I have hit+to him).

(ii) Esūtele m̄ ya hny. 'I have done it to him.'

(iii) Esūtele m̄ ya hny n'isi. 'I have done it to him on the head.'

A (ii) and (iii) suggest deliberate instead of accidental action, because they are emphatic in the circumstance.

(ii) The form given in (11) above applies equally to both 'locational' and 'directional' cases, as (12) and (13) show. Thus the difference between a 'locational' case and a 'directional' one is not, for Igbo, "determined by the movement or non-movement character of the associated verb", as Fillmore suggests, but lies in the occurrence of 'locational' or 'directional' suffixes. For in the language any verb whatever can take 'locational' or 'directional' suffixes according to the type of Locative case present in the clause. Take, for instance, the verb *ìhnū* 'to see' to which 'locational' and 'directional' suffixes are added in (14) (a) and (14) (b), (c) respectively.

(14) (a) Ezè hnùsàrà Òbi mme kpāāhy n'isi. 'Ezè's observation brought trouble on Òbi.' ('Ezè see+on+Past Òbi

trouble on head')

- (b) Ezè hnùìghàrà nnà ya òbiũfũ n'obì. 'Ezè's  
observation brought pain to his father's heart.'  
(i.e. caused him sorrow) ('Ezè see+into+Past father  
his heart-pain into heart.')
- (c) Ezè hnùàhnàrà nne ya okhe ivũ n'àhũ. 'Ezè's  
observation relieved his mother of some burden.'  
(i.e. took away burdensome responsibilities from her.)  
( 'Ezè see+away+Past mother his big burden on body.')

Take again inò 'to be at, 'to sit', in (15). The literal translations of the sentences are enclosed in ().

- (15) (a) Nòsa ọdhũ n'oco. 'Take a seat on the chair.' ('Sit+  
on seat on+chair.')
- (b) Nògidhe ọdhũ n'oco. 'Sit tight on the chair.'  
( 'Sit+on+intensity seat on+chair.')
- (c) Nòahna ọdhũ n'oco. 'Get up/away from the chair.'  
( 'Sit+away+from seat on+chair.')
- (d) Nòìgha ọdhũ n'oco. 'Sit in the chair.' (implying  
either an enclosed seat, or a seat with some people  
already seated on it but there is still some room  
for another person) ('Sit+in+towards seat on+chair.')

(iii) A Locative clause requires the occurrence of a locative prepositional phrase, 'na+NP' which usually occurs at the end of the clause, but may be deleted if the context warrants the deletion, or if the Locative has an 'abstract' sense, as explained below (Ca.9.4, page 302).

Consider these examples. The prepositional expressions are enclosed in () to indicate their optionality.

(16) Ezè wètàrà akwùkwò (n'ebe à) (n'ebe ahnù). 'Ezè brought a book (here) (there).'

(17) O lùìghèrè òkhùmè (n'ime mīri). 'He threw a stone in (to the water).'

(iv) When the Dative-Locative occurs, there are three possible syntactic structures to choose from: (a) a structure in which the dative-locative occurs immediately after the verb, followed by the direct object of the clause, and then the locative prepositional phrase (if not deleted); (b) or a structure in which the dative-locative occurs as a 'genitive' or 'adnominal possessive' in the prepositional phrase, which then has to occur obligatorily. A third alternative, (c), is to let the dative-locative remain in its position next to the verb, and to allow a possessive pronoun agreeing with it in person and number to occur in the prepositional phrase. (I am using the term 'dative-locative' in order to distinguish the elements concerned from the Dative-Benefactive and Dative-Recipient I and II which select different case suffixes from the dative-locative. Anderson<sup>1</sup>, apparently accepting the definition of the dative by Fillmore (and which I have rejected for Igbo), uses the term 'dative locative' with reference to the NPs associated with 'affective' verbs - such as 'please', 'like', 'think', and 'know'. But such NPs are associated with other suffixes in Igbo, than the locative suffixes. So 'dative-

locative' is used here in this context,.

Examples of the (a) construction are as follows:

- (18) Dibyà mèsàrà /Ezè/ ɔgwhù (n'ukwù). 'The doctor put some medicine on Ezè ('s foot).' ('Doctor do+on+Past Ezè medicine on foot.')
- (19) Ezè gbùtèrè /ùbhe/ mmà (n'ukwhù). 'Ezè, in the act of cutting, hit the pear-tree (at the base).' (Ezè cut+to+Past pear-tree knife on base).

(See also (14)).

If construction (b) is chosen, then (18) and (19) become (20) and (21), respectively.

- (20) Dibyà mèsàrà ɔgwhù /n'ukwù Ezè./ 'The doctor put medicine on Ezè's foot.'
- (21) Ezè gbùtèrè mmà /n'ukwhù ùbhe/. 'Ezè, in the act of cutting, hit the base of the pear-tree.'

Adopting construction (c), (20) and (21) become (22) and (23), respectively.

- (22) Dibyà mèsàrà /Ezè/ ɔgwhù /n'ukwù yā./ ('Doctor do+on+Past Ezè medicine on foot his.')
- (23) Ezè gbùtèrè /ùbhe/ mmà /n'ukwhù yā./ ('Ezè cut+to+Past pear-tree knife on base its.')

However, constructions (b) and (c), both contrast with (a), and also contrast with each other. The type of contrast which obtains is set out as follows, using (24), (18), (20) and (22) as examples.

- (24) Dibyà mèsàrà /Ezè/ ɔgwhù. 'The doctor treated Ezè.'



- (18') Dibyà mèsàrà /Ezè/ ɔgwhù /n'ɔkwɔ./ 'The doctor treated Ezè on the foot.' (specific place)
- (20') Dibyà mèsàrà ɔgwhù /n'ɔkwɔ Ezè./ 'The doctor treated Ezè's foot.' (and no one else's)
- (22') Dibyà mèsàrà /Ezè/ ɔgwhù /n'ɔkwɔ yā./ 'The doctor treated Ezè on his foot.' (The treatment was given to Ezè and on his foot. No one else was treated, and no other part of Ezè was involved.)

The question of the connection between dative-locative and 'possession' evidenced in the clauses (18) to (24) will not be discussed in this work interesting as it is, because it will lead us rather far out of the course demarcated for this work.

(v) In the examples above the dative-locative occurs as a Complement. That is, it is 'objectivized'. When this happens, then the part of the referent of the dative-locative NP which is affected by the action represented by the verb occurs as a PrepPhrase (which is deletable). If the dative-locative occurs but is neither 'objectivized' nor 'subjectivized' it occurs as PrepPhrase at the end of the clause, and no other locative expression can occur after it and function as a constituent element of the clause. But the dative-locative can occur as a PrepPhrase only if the referent of the NP is inanimate. Thus while (25) is grammatical, (26) is not.

- (25) Ezè gbùtèrè mmà /n'ɔ̀bhe/. 'Ezè, in the act of cutting with a knife hit the pear-tree.' ('Ezè cut+to+Past knife

on pear-tree.')

- (26) \* Dibyà mèsàrà ogwhù n'Ezè. ('Doctor put+on+Past  
medicine on Ezè).

Consider also these examples.

- (27) (a) O wèàhnàrà /teblù/ akwukwọ /n'elū/. 'He took a book  
away from (off) the top of the table.'  
(b) O wèàhnàrà akwukwọ /nà teblù/. 'He took a book off  
the table.'
- (28) (a) O wèàhnàrà /nwatà/ nkità /n'ahy/. 'She took the dog  
away from (off) the child.'  
(b) (\*O wèàhnàrà nkità /nà nwatà/.) 'She took the dog off  
( O wèàhnàrà nkità /n'ahy nwatà/. ) the child.'
- (29) (a) O tììghèrè /ehyni/ nnu /n'onū/. 'He put salt into  
the mouth of the cow.'  
(b) O tììghèrè nnu /n'ehyni/. 'He put salt into the cow.'

However, if 'n'Ezè in (26), 'nà nwatà' in (28) (b),  
'n'ehyni' in (29) (b) have non-animate meanings, then the clauses  
would be perfectly grammatical, meaning respectively,

'The doctor gave treatment with dignity'; 'She took away the  
dog when it was a puppy'; 'He put salt into the beef'.

(vi) When the dative-locative and the subject of the clause  
are co-referential, a reflexive expression takes the place of  
the dative-locative in the Complement position, as in (30) to  
(32).

- (30) /Ezè/ kùtàrà /ònwe yā/ mkpara (n'isi.) 'Ezè, in the  
act of hitting, hit himself on the head with a staff.'

(Èze hit+to+Past self his staff on head.)

(31) /Anyì/ t<sup>è</sup>ràrà /ònwe ānyì/ unyì n'ihnu. 'We painted our faces all over with charcoal.' (We paint+over+Past self our charcoal on face.)

(32) /I/ gà ikūisi /ònwe gī/ eze n'ōnū. 'You will knock your teeth out of your mouth.' (You will knock+out (of) self your teeth in mouth.)

(vii) When no dative-locative is involved in the clause, and only 'geographical' location is implied either as a result of the occurrence of a locational suffix or a directional one, the PrepPhrase which occurs realizes a simple locative case, and is not the 'extension' of a dative-locative.

Consider the following examples.

(33) W<sup>è</sup>ahna ñkhumè /n'uzò/. (Ablative) 'Take the stone away from the path.'

(34) Ku<sup>t</sup>uo ugirī /n'àlà/. (Allative) 'Knock the orange down to the ground.'

(35) Ku<sup>g</sup>'o yā /n'ehu ocō/. (Allative) 'Lift him up on the chair.'

(36) F<sup>è</sup>tāa ajhā /n'ebe dūm./ (Allative)- 'Throw the sand everywhere.'

(37) C<sup>ì</sup>igha hnā /n'olulò./ (Illative) 'Put them into the bottle.'

(38) W<sup>u</sup>isia hnā /n'àkpà/. (Elative) 'Pour them out of the bag.'

(39) Ọ nà èkw<sup>u</sup>dujhe okwū /n'uzò/. (Prolative) 'He was going

on talking as he went along the road.' ('He is fact  
speak+along+along word on road.')

- (40) O nɔmì /n'ime ahyā́/. (Prolative) 'He is (somewhere)  
deep inside the market.'
- (41) Dhokwàsa yā /n'elu igbē/. (Adessive) 'Put it on the  
top of the box.'
- (42) Bhyàgidhe yā /nà mbìrìajhā/. (Adessive) 'Press it  
against the wall.'

In all these examples, the PrepPhrase specifies a  
definite or exact location. That is, they state the 'static'  
position or the terminus towards which the motion (in the case  
of directional locative suffixes) is tending. When, however,  
the PrepPhrase implies mere direction the noun occurs without  
the preposition. This applies only to instances where  
directional suffixes occur and the noun represents a geographical  
location and not an object.

The following examples are ungrammatical.

- (43) \*Dhòsa ya /àlà/. (Put it on the ground.)
- (44) \*Tìighe ya /ìgbe/. (Put it in the box.)
- (45) \*Bhyàgidhe yā /mbìrìajhā/. (Press it on the wall.)

The following are grammatical.

- (46) Vùte yā ebe à. 'Bring it this way, carrying it.'
- (47) Wetùo yā àlà. 'Lower it.'
- (48) Vùahna yā ụzò. 'Carry it away from the passage.'

(viii) There is no change of sequential order when the dative-  
locative and following elements are pronominalized, if emphasis

is not involved.

Consider (49) and (50).

- (49) (a) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /ìgbe akwukwọ n'imē./ 'Àdha put books into the box.'
- (b) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /yà akwukwọ n'imē./ 'Àdha put books into it.'
- (c) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /yà hnụ n'imē. 'Àdha put it in it.'
- (50) (a) Òbî kùtàrà /Ezè mkpara n'isi./ 'Òbi hit Ezè on the head with a staff, accidentally.'
- (b) Òbî kùtàrà /yà mkpara n'isi./ 'Òbi hit him on the head with a staff, accidentally.'
- (c) Òbî kùtàrà /yà hnụ n'isi./ 'Òbi hit him with it on the head, accidentally.'

(The forms, and the sequence, of pronouns are given under Pronouns above, p.218-223)

When the pronoun representing the dative-locative is emphatic it occurs following the one representing the direct object, if the dative-locative refers to a first or second person, as in (51) and (52).

- (51) (a) Ọjhi kùtàrà /m yà/ n'isi. 'Ọjhi hit me with it on the head.'
- (b) Ọjhi kùtàrà /yà mù/ n'isi. 'Ọjhi hit me (emph.) with it on the head.'
- (52) (a) Ọjhi kùtàrà /gi yà/ n'isi. 'Ọjhi hit you with it on the head.'
- (b) Ọjhi kùtàrà /yà gi/ n'isi. 'Ọjhi hit you (emph.)

with it on the head.'

Except in such emphatic instances illustrated by (51) (b) and (52) (b), the dative-locative always precedes the direct object.

### Ca.9.3. Dative-locative, Accusative and Instrumental

With the exception of the three-place verbs such as si, 'tell/say', gwa 'tell', zni 'show/teach', nye 'give/offer', zu 'buy', other verbs require the occurrence of a case suffix (grammatical or local) in order that a dative case NP Complement might occur. The dative case occurring might be the 'Benefactive', the 'Recipient', or the 'Locative', as already stated in various places above. In the case of the dative-locative, as shown above, the NP might occur as a PrepPhrase. When, however, the dative-locative is represented by an NP and not by a PrepPhrase, it occurs next to the verb (as do the Benefactive and the Recipient). This is very important, because in categorizing Complements in terms of 'direct' and 'indirect' objects, an 'indirect object' might be regarded as a 'direct' object if the syntactic consequences of the presence of the locative suffixes are ignored.

As a general principle, the locative suffixes (like the 'grammatical' suffixes) are not correlated at all to the direct object (or the Accusative Case NP) in the language, but only to the 'Indirect Object', to the Subject (in instances of subjectivization), or to the 'PrepPhrase Complement'. This is the reason why these suffixes cannot be taken as mere lexical elements augmenting the meaning of a verb. Incomplete

translations into English of Igbo clauses with locative suffixes, have not helped to see this fact.

Consider the following examples. (The correct translations which reveal their 'incompleteness' will be put in brackets (), while the usual translations given to them will not be so enclosed.)

- (53) O zìtèrè ozi. 'He sent a message.' ('He sent to ... a message.')
- (54) O wètàrà akwukwọ. 'He brought a letter.' ('He took to ... a letter.')
- (55) O mụtàrà nwa. 'She bore a child.' ('She bore to ... a child.')
- (56) O tìirè nnu. 'She put in salt.' ('She put into ... salt.')
- (57) O vùàhnàrà osisi. 'He carried away the log.' ('He carried away from/to ... a log.')
- (58) O fòìsìrì àkpà. 'He unpacked the bags.' ('He packed out of ... the bags.')

In none of these instances is the NP correlated with the suffix stated, but if stated it might be a locative PrepPhrase or a Dative-locative (with further consequences to the clause, as already given). The reason for not stating the NP is that the situational context or the occurrence of the NP earlier in the discourse makes it unnecessary to do so.

Another consequence of disregarding the grammaticality of the suffixes is the confusing of the 'direct object' with the 'instrument' involved in the action represented by the

verb, thus confusing the Accusative with the Instrumental Case. Again, the situation has not been helped by dependence on English translations of Igbo clauses. Consider (59) and (60) in which (a) and (b) have the same translation whereas their syntax differs in Igbo.

(59) (a) Ọ kùrù Ezè aka. 'He hit Ezè.' ('He hit Ezè hand.')

(b) Ọ kùtàrà Ezè aka. 'He hit Ezè.' ('He hit +to Ezè hand.')

(60) (a) Ọ gbùrù agwọ mmà. 'He cut the snake with a knife.'  
'('He cut the snake knife.')

(b) Ọ gbùtèrè agwọ mmà. 'He cut the snake with a knife.'  
'('He cut + to snake knife.')

In (a) of (59) and (60) the second Complements function as Instrumental Case, but in (b) they function as Accusative Case. The evidence for this is that while (a) can be transformed into another type of Instrumental construction, (b) cannot and becomes unacceptable when it is done.

(59') (a) Ọ wèèrè aka kù Ezè. 'He hit Ezè with the hand.'  
'('He took hand hit Ezè,')

(b) Ọ wèèrè aka kùta Ezè. ('He took + Benefactive hand hit + to Ezè'.)

(60') (a) Ọ wèèrè mmà gbu agwọ. 'He killed the snake with a knife.'  
'('He took knife cut snake.')

(b) Ọ wèèrè mmà gbute agwọ. ('He took + Benefactive knife cut + to snake.')

These examples indicate that when case suffixes are present



an Instrumental NP cannot occur. If an expression indicating 'Instrumental' occurs, it does so as PrepPhrase and occurs as a second PrepPhrase after the 'locative PrepPhrase' (if present) as in (61) and (62).

(61) Òbî<sup>1</sup> kùtārà Ezè aka n'isi /n'amāghì ama./ 'Òbi hit Ezè on the head inadvertently.'

(62) Òbî gbùtèrè agwọ mmà (n'ọdhù) /n'ụjọ./ 'Òbi cut the snake on the tail out of fear.'

The 'Manner' PrepPhrase can occur also in a clause with an 'Instrumental' NP, and in the same position as above, as in (63).

(63) Ọ kùrù Ezè aka (n'isi) /n'iwe/. 'He hit Ezè on the head with the hand out of anger.'

The correlation of elements in an Igbo clause and the functions of such elements both when locative suffixes occur and when they do not occur are exemplified below in (64) to (67).

(64) Ọ kùrù Ezè aka. 'He hit Ezè with the hand.'  
(Acc) (Inst)

(65) Ọ kùrù Ezè aka n'isi n'iwe.  
(Acc) (Inst) (Loc) ('Mann')

'He hit Ezè on the head with the hand out of anger.'

(66) Ọ tììghèrè Ezè aka n'anya n'iwe.  
(Dat) (Acc) (loc) (Manner)

'He put his hand into Ezè's eye out of anger.'

(67) Ọ tììghèrè (ònwe yā) aka n'anya n'iwe.  
(Dat) (Dat) (Acc) (Loc) (manner)

(He put + into (himself) hand in eye in anger.)

'He put his hand into his eye in anger.'

Ca.9.4. 'Abstract' Use of Locative Cases

Although the Locative cases are said to be 'concrete' vis-a-vis the 'grammatical' cases, they can be quite abstract in meaning, sometime far more abstract in meaning than the grammatical cases, as some of the illustrations below will indicate. What Anderson said of English is applicable too to Igbo. He said, "It is in many cases relatively easy to indicate in an informal way the common relation underlying a 'concrete' or 'spacial' use and an abstract use of a particular subtype of locative, and to show that the semantic difference between them can be attributed to the content of the associated verb and/or NPs"<sup>1</sup>

Consider the following examples.

- (68) Òmùme yā́ vùtèrè nsnògbu /n'álà hna/. 'His behaviour caused trouble in their village.' ('Behaviour his carry+to+Past trouble in land their.')
- (69) Ihyne o kwùrù gbàsàrà m/(n'ahụ)/. 'What he said concerned me.' ('Thing he said hit+on+Past me (on body)')
- (70) Ọ diìghàrà /n'òrny./ 'He participated in the work.' (He be+into+Past in work.')
- (71) Ọ ùhàhàlala /n'izū ahyā./ 'He has given up trading.' ('He move+away+Perfective in+to+buy market.')
- (72) Hna ānwuìsiala /(n'ònwụ)/. 'They have died out.' ('They died+out-of+Intensive+Perfective in death')

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1. John M. Anderson: The Grammar of Case, p.100, cf.p.3 (CUP 1971)

- (73) /0/ cètàrà ò / (n'ucè yā)/. 'He remembered me.' ('He think+to+Past me in thought his.'/'He thought me to his thought')

In these examples the suffixes, the verbs in which they occur, the correlated NPs, all combine to give the clauses the 'abstract' meanings which they have. And lack of appreciation of their 'concrete' and 'special' basis, will severely limit the understanding of them. For instance, there is no movement involved in the verbs in (70), (72) and (73), yet directional suffixes are found in them.

#### Ca.9.5. The Suffix -ahna

In the use of the suffix, when the source of the movement is not expressed, that is, when no dative-locative NP co-occurs with it, any correlated PrepPhrase which also occurs can be ambiguous. It can represent the source or the goal. The same applies if no correlated PrepPhrase occurs either.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) (a) Hna ēvuahnala yā. 'They have carried it away (from/to).'  
 (b) Hna ēvuahnala yā n'uzò. 'They have carried it away from/to the road.'

To be explicit about the source and the goal, one of the verbs si 'to originate from'/'to begin from', wa 'to begin from', is used to introduce a place noun after which the clause with -ahna can occur, as in (2).

- (2) 0 /sīle ŋga à/ vuahna yā nà ògà ahnù. 'He has moved it

from here to there.' ('He has begun from place this (and) carried+away it to place that.')

Ca.9.6. The suffix -lahna

The suffix -lahna occurs in some other dialects as -nari. Semantically, it means 'away from to a remote place/point'. It is more frequently used with 'abstract' reference than with 'concrete'. Consequently it is used in a type of 'Comparative Construction' (See p.440 below): and in this use it may be accompanied by a PrepPhrase which indicates the 'Manner'/'Instrumental'/'Quality' involved in the 'action'/'state' denoted by the verb, as in the following examples.

- (1) Ezè àgbalahnala m̄ /n'oso/. 'Ezè has run further/faster than I can.'
- (2) Ezè èvulahnala gī /n'ivu/. 'Ezè has carried more loads than you.'
- (3) Àdha àmalahnala Ûg'ò /na mma/. 'Àdha is more beautiful than Ûg'ò.'
- (4) Òbi àrnulahnala unù /n'orñu. 'Òbi has done more work than you people.'

It should be observed that the NPs which occur immediately after the verbs are not the 'direct objects' of the clauses. They are 'indirect objects', and have 'dative-locative' functions, as the following NPs marked out by // in (5) and (6) below show. The 'direct object' follows after.

- (5) Ezè èvulahnala /m̄/ oco. 'Ezè has carried the chair beyond my reach.' ('Ezè 'carried+away-beyond+Perfective

me chair.')

- (6) Òbi ērilahnala /yā/ nri. 'Òbi has eaten the food, leaving nothing for him.' ('Òbi ate+away-beyond+Perfective him food.')

Unlike -ahna, the source or the goal cannot be stated in any way within the same clause. These are stated outside the clause. The source is stated by 'isīte + NP' (which may express also 'Manner'/'Means'/'Reason') and the goal is expressed by 'irū +NP/PrepPhrase'.

- (7) O /sītèrè n'ulò/ gbalahna m. 'From the house he ran away from me.' ('He began from in house ran+away-beyond me.')

- (8) O gbàlahnàrà m /site n'ikā m ikhe./ 'He ran away from me through being stronger than I.'

Ca.9,7. The Suffix -tA: (i) The NP correlated with.

While Green<sup>1</sup> says of the suffix -tA that it has a "sense of motion towards", Dr. Carrell<sup>2</sup> who describes it as "a member of the lexical category Adv<sub>1</sub>" adds that it means "motion towards the speaker". And Welmers says, "/-tA/, indicating action performed in the direction of the subject or speaker, or in his interest."<sup>3</sup> Carrell and Welmers are entirely mistaken

1. Green: 'Suffixes in Igbo', op.cit., p.96.

2. Carrell: op.cit., p.4.

3. Studies in African Linguistics: Vol.1, No.1. p.55.

in restricting the direction to the subject or speaker. The truth is that the goal of the 'motion' or the direction of the action depends upon where the NP correlated with the suffix occurs in the clause. The NP can be the Subject, a Complement, or PrepPhrase in accordance with the general characteristics of locative suffixes, and depending on the type of verb carrying the suffix (as in (10)-(20)). In the following examples the elements correlated with -ta are marked by //.

- (1) Ọ kpòtàrà nwa yā /n'ebe à (ebe à)//. 'She brought her child to this place (here).'
- (2) Ọ gbàtàrà /nnùnù/ àkù /nà òkù/. 'He shot the bird in the wing with an arrow.' ('He shot+to bird arrow on wing.')
- (3) /Ọ/ bìtèrè isi /n'osisi/. 'He hit his head on the tree.' (He hit+to head on tree.')
- (4) /Ọ/ nwètàrà ikhe. 'He obtained permission/authority.' ('He had+to power.')
- (5) Ọ byàrà leta /m̃/ (anya). 'He came and saw/visited me.' ('He came (and) looked+to m (eye).')
- (6) /Ọ/ zùtàrà Ezè akwà. 'He bought cloths from Ezè.' ('He bought+to from Ezè cloths.')

(7) When the correlated NP is also a subject, a reflexive form may occur as a Complement, as in (7) to (9).

- (7) /Ọ/ bìtèrè /ònwe yā/ isi n'osisi. 'He hit his head on a tree.' ('He butted+to himself head on tree.')
- (8) /Ọ/ cètàrà /ònwe yā/. 'He recollected himself.' ('He

thought+to himself.')

- (9) /O/ gbùtère /onwe yā/ mmà n'ukwū. 'He cut himself on the foot.' ('He cut+to himself knife on foot.')

With 'Private verbs' - "verbs that refer to states or activities that the speaker alone is aware of ... those that refer to mental activities and those that refer to sensations"<sup>1</sup> - the subject NP is usually the correlated NP.

Consider the following examples. The NP is marked by //.

- (10) /Unù/ cètàrà ya. 'You (pl.) remembered it.'  
 (11) /O/ kwètàrà imē ya. 'Hé agreed/consented to do it.'  
 (12) /Anyị/ mātàrà ya. 'We acquired knowledge of it/him.'  
 (13) /O/ mūtala yā. 'He has learnt it.'  
 (14) /I/ ghōtala okwū m. 'You have understood my meaning.'  
 (15) /M/ nūtala ūtọ ya. 'I have savoured (the taste of) it.'  
 (16) /O/ hnūtala otù. 'He has found/seen one.'

Similarly when the verb is a 'stative verb' it is the subject NP that is the correlated NP. Such verbs include idi 'to be', iwū 'to be', ikā 'to be more', ihná 'to be equal', ihnā 'to be as (much) as', ichā 'to be ripe', ig'ō 'to be black', ivù 'to be big', ikā 'to be old', ijō 'to be bad', imā 'to be good'.

Consider these examples.

- (17) /O/ dītala ndhù. 'He has lived so long.'  
 (18) /O/ mātala mmā. 'It is so beautiful./'It has become beautiful.'  
 (19) /Hna/ àhnātala. 'They have become equal.'

1. F.R. Palmer : *A Linguistic Study of the English Verb*. p.95.

(20) /Unènè/ àchatala. 'The banana has become ripe.'

When the 'action' or 'state' denoted by the 'private verb' or the 'stative verb' is for the 'benefit' of another participant, this participant is represented by the Dative-benefactive, and the suffix -rA/E must also occur. Thus we get -tA correlated with the subject of the clause, and the -rA/E with the first Complement.

In the following examples the 'Benefactive' is marked by //.

(21) Òbi āhnūtārālā /Ezè/ nwaànyì. 'Òbi has found a wife for Ezè.' (Òbi has seen to (himself) for Ezè wife.)

(22) O cètārālā /m̄/ ihyne. 'He has reminded me of something.' ('He has thought to (himself) for me thing.')

(23) Ehyñi èvùterele /gĩ/ ivù. 'The cow has grown big for you.' (Cow has grown to (itself) for you bigness.)

(24) Nùtārā /m̄/ ihyne p nà èkwu. 'Listen and hear for me what he is saying.'

It will be observed that the use of -tA with 'private' and 'stative' verbs results in case functions with 'abstract' senses. But this is not limited to the occurrence of these types of verbs, as the following examples show.

(25) O kwūtele yā. 'He has said it correctly.'

(26) O kwūtele yā na nthì m. 'He has made mention of it to my hearing.'

(27) O kātālā yā. 'He has said it correctly.'/'He has guessed it accurately.'



- (28) Ewhnētala yā. 'Don't make mention of him.'
- (29) O jītele nwā ya. 'He has got his son under control, at last.'
- (30) Anyī rītèrè ọtha. 'He won a shield.'
- (31) I znītèrè ya. 'You taught it correctly/accurately/ properly.'
- (32) I znītèrè hnà ya. 'You taught it to them accurately.'

Observe that iznī in (32) is a three place verb so that 'hnà' is directly associated with it and not with -tA.

(ii) Expression of 'source' and 'goal' of the direction

The source of the direction implied by -tA is indicated by use of the verbs isī, iwā, igā 'to go' and imālī 'to start', and the NP or PrepPhrase which follows these verbs may indicate 'concrete', 'spatial' or 'temporal' meaning.

The goal of the movement is stated by a clause with the verb irū 'to reach', and the clause will have concrete, spacial or temporal sense as the one with isī, etc. Thus -tA, in this regard, is similar to -ahna, and -lahna.

Consider the following examples.

- (33) /Sīte nà mgbè ahnū ru ūgbu à /àhnūbèghì m ya. 'From that time until now I have not seen him at all.'
- (34) /Sīte Ūmūahyà ruo Āba/ wū ohu mayīlī àbūō. 'From Ūmūahyà to Āba is forty miles.'
- (35) /Wàta ākha rùte àhnūa à,/ otū ùgbò kà mahnūbèrè ya. 'From last year to this year, once only have I seen him.'
- (36) /Gàta Ūmūyàdà Isìngwhù ru Òwèrè/, ụzọ dīcha mmā. 'From

Umũyàdà Isìngwhù to Òwèrè, all the roads are good.'

(37) /Màlite tha à ru Ñkwò Àchàrà/, anyị gà èmecha yā.

'From today to Ñkwò Àchàrà market day, we shall finish it.'

site, gata, and kwhòta are used to introduced 'Reason/Cause' Clauses, and thus indicate again the abstract use of -tA.

(38) O nyèèrè m aka /sìte nà ọ wụ enyị m./ 'He helped me because he was my friend.'

(39) /Kwhòta n'ihyne o kwùrù/, hnà àgawkwāghị. 'On account of what he said, they did not go after all.'

(40) Ànyị èmekwēghì ya /gàta n'ihyne mēre./ 'We did not do it again because of what happened.'

site, and gata can be used also with the sense 'through', 'along', 'via', and thus have a 'prolative' sense.

(41) O sítèrè Àba bya. 'He came through Àba.'

(42) Ọ gátàrà Ònítsha ga Enugù. 'He went to Ònítsha via Enugù.'

(43) Gàta akhaākha ụlọ bya. 'Come along the side of the house.'

#### Ca.9.7.1. Co-occurrence of -tA with other suffixes

-tA can co-occur with all other suffixes, and when this happens, its position in the verb form is as follows.

(i) It precedes all categories of suffixes - the Past Tense (-rA/E), the Aspect, Number, Comparison, Reference/Anaphora, Second Person Plural Pronoun, Modality, Insistence and the

Dative-benefactive and Prolative (-du/--jhe) suffixes, as in following examples. The co-occurring suffix is underlined. (The full translations are not given.)

- (44) O wètàrà (Past tense) 'He brought.'
- (45) O wètàla (perfective) 'He has brought (it).'
- (46) O wètàwala (continuative) 'He is bringing (it).'
- (47) O wètàala (intensive) 'He had at some time brought.'
- (48) O wètàrìsì (inclusive) 'He is still bringing.'
- (49) O wètàkari (comparative) 'He brings too much.'
- (50) Wètàsì hnā. (Plural) 'Bring the several of them.'
- (51) Wètànì (reference) 'Bring, then.'
- (52) Wètànì (pronoun) 'Bring, you people.'
- (53) Wètàra m̄ (Benefactive) 'Bring for me.'
- (54) Iwètàdù (Prolative) 'To bring along.'
- (ii) It may precede or follow the adessive suffixes -sa, -kwàsa, as in

- (55) (a) iwēkwàsàta 'to put on top of towards'
- (b) iwētàkwàsà 'to add on to'
- (56) (a) iwèsàtā 'to put on towards'
- (b) iwètàsà 'to bring and put on'

(iii) It follows all other suffixes, including those case suffixes which are not mentioned under (i) above.

- (57) irnōsita (Dative-Recipient) 'to bring about by being hostile to'
- (58) inyērita (comitative) 'to mutually give to each other'
- (59) iwēdhàtā (allative) 'to bring down to'

- (60) iwētūtè (allative) 'to bring down to'  
 (61) iwēg'òtā (allative) 'to bring up to'  
 (62) iwēlātā (ablative) 'to bring away to'  
 (63) iwēāhnātā (ablative) 'to put away towards'  
 (64) iwēlāhnātā (ablative) 'to take away beyond towards'  
 (65) iwēìghètā (illative) 'to put into towards'  
 (66) iwēbhātā (illative) 'to put into towards'  
 (67) iwēisītè (elative) 'to bring out to'  
 (68) iwēfūtā (elative) 'to bring out to'  
 (69) iwēgìdhètā (adessive) 'to put against to proximity of'  
 (70) igbātātā (allative) 'to kick in various directions to'  
 (71) itērātā (adessive) 'to paint over to proximity of'  
 (72) igāmītè (prolative) 'to go along towards until given up'

Ca.9.7.2. Double occurrence of -tA

-tA occurs with the verb ilī 'to get up/off/away' in a compound verb to give the sense 'to be able to', as in the following examples.

- (73) Agà ò /èvulite/ yā. 'I can carry it.'  
 (74) Ọ gā /àrnulite/ ọrnū. 'He can work',/'It can do the work.'  
 (75) Ọ nā /èkwulite/ okwū. 'He can talk.'

However, -tA does not always occur, and its occurrence in (73) to (75) can be deleted without losing the sense of 'can' or 'being able to'.

The form -lite ' can be compounded with another verb which already has -tA in it, thus giving a Compound Complex

verb form, as in the following instances.

- (76) Ọ gǎ yǎ /mwetalite/. 'He can bring it, certainly.'  
 (77) Anyị gǎ /evutelite/ yā. 'We can carry it to anywhere.'  
 (78) Ị nà /ekwutelite/ yā. 'You are able to say it correctly.'/  
 'You do say it correctly.'

The verb ilī is a directional verb and the movement is usually to a higher position, so the nouns 'elu' 'height', ọtọ 'uprightness' often occur with it, as in (79).

- (79) Wèlie yā elu /ọtọ. 'Lift it up.'

When therefore it occurs with -tA both have the same goal. Thus (80) is equivalent to (79).

- (80) Welite yā elu /ọtọ.

Consequently when two of -tA occur in one verb form they have different orientations and correlate with different elements. So, for instance, in (78) the first -tA correlated with the subject, while the second one correlates with elu/ọtọ (which is not usually expressed).

#### Ca.9.7.3. Phonology of -tA

The vowel of -tA becomes /e/ only if the preceding syllable has /i/ or /u/, otherwise the vowel is /a/.

Consider the following.

- (81) ilīte 'to get up to'  
 (82) irūte 'to arrive at'  
 (83) ịnīta 'to extract to'  
 (84) inwēta 'to obtain'  
 (85) ikpāta 'to bring about'

- (86) ɪcōta 'to find'  
 (87) ikhōtā 'to get with a hook'  
 (88) ɪzūta 'to get by purchase'

Ca.9.8. The Suffix -du

Semantically it gives the sense of 'along'. It often occurs as -duo, but this I take as the coalescence of -du+wa ('Continuative'), which frequently co-occurs with it. Also it frequently co-occurs with -jhe 'along' and -tA.

Consider these examples.

- (1) 0 (sì ahyā) nā /ālotadu/ (n'ulō). 'She is coming along home returning from the market.' (She (begin from market) is+fact return+to+along+Continuative (to home).)  
 (2) 0 nā /ēmetadu/ yā n'ebe ahnū. 'She is doing it and coming along there.'  
 (3) 0 /gbātādūjhē/ ɔsō. 'He is coming along running.'

Observe, as in (1), the source is stated with the verb isī, plus NP, and the goal by a PrepPhrase.

Ca.9.9. The Suffix -IsI

The suffix -IsI harmonizes its vowels in accordance with the rules of vowel-harmony. Semantically it implies 'motion from interior to exterior', and thus is the opposite of -IghA which implies 'motion from exterior to interior'.

In addition to its case function, it also has a number function in that its use implies plurality either in the subject, or the direct object, and indirectly in the verb.

The source and the goal may be stated as for the other

suffixes described above (as in (1)). Consider the following examples.

- (1) O sīle n'ulō wēisie /hnā/ n'èzi. 'He has taken them out from the house into the yard.' (He begin from in house take+out+Intensive them into yard.)
- (2) O cūisīala /eghū/. 'He has driven out the goats.' (He drive+out-of+Intensive+Perfective goats.)
- (3) Snāisīa efere/(ñthīrī)/. 'Wash (the dirt off) the plate(s).' (Wash+out-of+Intensive plate(s) (dirt).)
- (4) Tīisīsia nwatakīrī /uwe/. 'Undress the child.' (Wear+out-of+Plural+Intensive child clothes.)

In (1) to (4) the direct objects marked by // are plural either in form or meaning. In (5) to (7) the subjects are plural.

- (5) /Hnā/ āfūisīala n'ama. 'They have all gone out to the square.'
- (6) /Unū/ wūisīa. 'You (pl) jump out.'
- (7) /Umūtākīrī/ āgbaisīala. 'The children have all run out.'

Often the suffix is used with an abstract sense, as in the following examples.

- (8) Hna ānwūisīala. 'They have all died./'They have died out.'
- (9) Ōnwū ēgbuisiele hnā. 'They have all died.' (Death has killed them out.)
- (10) O rēisiele (mma yā). 'It has wholly decayed.' (It has rotted out (its goodness).)
- (11) Hna èfūisiele. 'They have all got lost.'

- (12) Kà m kùisie (obì) ume. 'Let me rest.' (Let me breathe out of the heart/chest breaths.)

In this abstract sense it is used with the verb itù 'to throw' and parts of the body to give a number of idiomatic phrases. The direct object of the verb is not stated and the NPs representing the parts of the body function as dative-locative. The infinitive forms of such phrases are given:

- (13) itùisi obì 'to relax', 'to be calm', 'to be gentle/do gently'
- (14) itùisi àhù 'to relax', 'to control oneself'
- (15) itùisi ume 'to rest/relax'
- (16) itùisi aka 'to do without force'
- (17) itùisi nthì 'to listen carefully'
- (18) itùisi onù 'to speak with gentleness'
- (19) itùisi ire 'to use a gentle tongue'

It is also used with the suffix -kì to indicate 'opening out/up', 'uncovering', etc.; and with the verb ighà (as part of a compound verb) 'to leave', to indicate 'undoing what has been done'.

In the following examples the Simple Participial forms of the verbs will be given in order to preserve the basic tones of the components.

- (20) ntúkisi 'unlocking', 'unrolling', 'unwinding'
- (21) nkwakisi 'unpacking', 'uncovering'
- (22) mfekisi 'blowing open'
- (23) mkpàkisi 'plying open'



- (24) mpìkìsì 'pinching open'
- (25) nkwughììsì 'unsaying', 'recanting'
- (26) mmeghììsì 'unmaking', 'undoing'
- (27) nkaghììsì 'unsaying', 'withdrawing statement'
- (28) nkweghììsì 'dis-believing', 'withdrawing belief'
- (29) nnyeghììsì 'withdrawing offer/gift'
- (30) ngaghììsì 'retracing steps'

Observe that the vowel of -kì is elided to that of -Isì and the structure loses a syllable; and the root vowel of ìghà is assimilated to that of -Isì, but it retains its low-tone and is not elided either.

CHAP. 13Derived Forms

In these three sections which follow, three categories of word classes derived from verbs by various processes, including affixation, are discussed. They are Non-finite Verb Forms, Verb-derived Nouns, and Verb-derived Adjectives. They are discussed in the order given above.

Nf.1. Non-finite Verb Forms

There are five subcategories of the Non-finite Verb Forms. They are distinguished as follows:

- (i) The Simple Infinitive
- (ii) The Simple Participle (or N-Form)
- (iii) The Gerund
- (iv) The Gerundial Infinitive
- (v) The Aorist Participle/Adjective

Nf.1.1. The Simple Infinitive

The Simple Infinitive is derived by inflecting the verb by the addition of the harmonizing prefix i-/i- to the verb stem which may be simplex or complex.

The prefix always has a high tone. The tones of the stem depend on the composition of the stem, that is, on the phonological classes of the components and their sequential order relative to one another. The rules are as follows.

- (i) If the stem consists of class I elements (verbs, or verbs plus suffixes), the first syllable of the stem takes a mid-tone relationship with the prefix and every following syllable shares this tone relationship with it, as in (1).

- (1) (a) ivū 'to carry/lift'  
 (b) ivūli 'to lift up', 'to be able to carry'  
 (c) ivūlite 'to be able to carry', 'to lift up'  
 (d) ivūrumacha 'to carry quite to destination'

(ii) If the initial element is a class I verb, and the rest of the stem contains a class II element, the initial class I verb takes a mid-tone in relation to the prefix while the rest of the stem takes low tones, including <sup>any</sup> class I elements in it. In the examples in (2) the class II elements are underlined.

- (2) (a) ivūbhà 'to carry into'  
 (b) ivūdhàtà 'to carry down to'  
 (c) ivūjùfùtàmàchà 'to carry and fill up quite adequately'  
 (d) ipābhāmirùsì 'to carry (by hand) several things deep into ~~the~~ destination'

(iii) If the initial verb element is a class II verb, it takes a low tone in relation to the prefix; and if succeeding elements are class I elements, they too take low tones, as in (3) where the class II element is underlined.

- (3) (a) iwè 'to take'  
 (b) iwèlà 'to ~~take~~ away to'  
 (c) iwèkàrì 'to indulge in taking'/'to take too much'  
 (d) izògbùsèchà 'to trample all of several things to death'

(iv) If the initial verb element is a class II verb, and the rest of the stem contains another class II element in it, the initial class II verb takes a mid-tone in relation to the prefix and all succeeding elements take low tones, as in (4).

- (4) (a) izōbī 'to stop raining'  
 (b) iryōdhātā 'to bend/cause to bend downwards'  
 (c) iwēlāfùjhè 'to put further away towards'  
 (d) ipībisè 'to break into several bits by pinching'

Class III verbs are never preceded by class I or class II verbs, but can themselves be followed by class I or class II verbs (and by suffixes). The Simple Infinitive form of a Class III verb has high-mid-low tones; but if it <sup>is</sup> added to, the succeeding elements take low tones. So we get tone-structures as described in (iv). Consider (5) where class II elements only are underlined.

- (5) (a) iznūznū 'to behave stupidly'  
 (b) iznūznūbhātā 'to come in in a stupid manner'  
 (c) itūtū 'to pick up many things'  
 (d) itūtūjùmàchà 'to fill up properly with pickings'

#### Nf.1.2. The Simple Participle

The Simple Participle is derived by inflexion which adds a high-tone homorganic nasal consonant to a verb stem. The verb stem may be of a class I, class II, or of class III verb, or it may be a complex form.

The tones of the resulting form depends on the composition of the stem. If the stem is simplex, that is uncompounded, class I items have high-high tones, as in (6); class II items have high-low tones, as in (7); and class III items have high-high-low tones, as in (8).

- |               |             |                       |                     |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (6) (a) mme   | 'doing'     | (c) nnye              | 'giving'            |
| (b) nri       | 'eating'    | (d) nga (nga)         | 'going'             |
| (7) (a) mbhà  | 'entering'  | (c) nnyò              | 'peeping'/'pee-     |
| (b) ntà       | 'biting'    |                       | ring'               |
|               |             | (d) nkà (nkà)         | 'saying'            |
| (8) (a) mfufè | 'waving'    | (b) nnyunyù           | 'massaging'         |
| (b) nzuzù     | 'scrubbing' | (d) nkwukwù (nkwukwù) |                     |
|               |             |                       | 'carrying secretly' |

If the stem is complex, the following tone structures obtain in accordance with the nature of the composition.

(i) If the form consists of class I elements only, the whole structure takes high tones, as in (9).

- |               |                               |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (9) (a) mmema | 'doing properly', 'repairing' |
| (b) mmemakarì | 'doing exceptionally well'    |
| (c) ndhojò    | 'misplacing'                  |

(ii) If an initial class I verb is followed by a mixed class of elements, <sup>and</sup> a class II element does not occur in third or subsequent position, the elements take the tones appropriate to their classes, high tone for class I elements, and low tones for class II, as in (10).

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| (10) (a) nludhà | 'throwing down' |
|-----------------|-----------------|

(b) mvudhàta 'carrying down to'

(c) mvubhàmìru 'carrying deeper inside to destination'

But if a class I element intervenes between the initial class I element and a class II element, the intervening class I takes a low tone while the class II takes a high tone, as in (11). The class II element is underlined.

(11) (a) mmetàfu 'being able to do/get right'

(b) mmejòfu 'doing badly again'

However, if the class II element is itself followed by class I elements, these take high-tones while the class II element takes a low-tone, as in (12).

(12) (a) mmejùfùta 'topping off'

(b) mvurùbhàma 'carrying properly to destination inside'

(iii) If the initial verb is a class II verb and is immediately followed by a class I element or elements, the class II verb takes a low-tone while the other elements take high tones, as in (13).

(13) (a) nzàma 'sweeping properly'

(b) nlùahnatù 'throwing a little distance away from'

But if a class II element occurs anywhere else in the stem, the initial class II verb takes a high-tone, and the succeeding elements take low-tones, including any class I element (if a class II occurs finally), as in (14).

(14) (a) mwebhà 'taking inside'

(b) mwebhàmì 'taking deeper inside'

(c) mwebhàtáfù 'bringing inside further'

(d) mwebhàta 'bringing inside to'

(iv) With class III verbs in initial position, additional elements take tones according to their classes -- high-tones for class I and low-tones for class II, as in (15).

(15) (a) ntutùju 'filling up with pickings'

(b) mfufèdhà 'waving/blowing down'

The use of the term 'Participle' here to apply to the form 'N+Verb stem' implies the rejection of the analysis which applied the term to the form 'a-/e- + Verb stem' which is regarded in this work as an instance of the Aorist verb form in particular clause constructions. See Complex Clauses, pages 58-73 (particularly in its simplex form).

The Simple Participle of a verb stem forms the base for the derivation of various morphological types of nouns and adjectives. See 'Nouns' and 'Adjectives' below.

#### Nf.1.3. The Gerund

The Gerund is derived by adding the harmonizing prefix o-/o- to a reduplicated form of the simple verb root. Thus the Gerund is derivable only from simplex class I and class II verb stems. That means it cannot be derived from complex verb stems nor from class III stems.

The tone-structure of the resulting form is as follows: for forms derived from class I verbs, the prefix takes a low-tone while the stem takes high-tones; but for forms derived from class II verbs both the prefix and the stem take low-tones.

Consider (16) and (17) which exemplify class I and class II gerunds, respectively.

- |          |         |            |            |         |             |             |
|----------|---------|------------|------------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| (16) (a) | òriri   | 'eating'   | (d)        | òbyịbya | 'coming'    |             |
|          | (b)     | òmume      | 'doing'    | (e)     | òjụjụ       | 'asking'    |
|          | (c)     | òlile      | 'looking'  | (f)     | òrire       | 'selling'   |
| (17) (a) | òkpùkpù | 'covering' | (đ)        | òkùkò   | 'digging'/' |             |
|          | (b)     | òlùlù      | 'throwing' |         | 'planting'  |             |
|          | (c)     | òbùbè      | 'perching' | (e)     | òfùfù       | 'going out' |
|          |         |            | (f)        | òmùmù   | 'learning'  |             |

#### Nf.1.3.1. Substantivization of the Gerund

Gerunds can be transformed from being verbal-nouns into 'substantial-nouns'. In the case of gerunds derived from class I verbs this involves tone alternation whereby the second syllable takes a low-tone like the first syllable, leaving only the third syllable high. Consider (b) of the following examples:

- |          |       |                      |                    |
|----------|-------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (18) (a) | òmume | 'doing'              |                    |
|          | (b)   | òmùme                | 'behaviour'        |
| (19) (a) | òdịdị | 'being/existing'     |                    |
|          | (b)   | òdịdị                | 'character'        |
| (20) (a) | òmụmụ | 'bearing (child)'    |                    |
|          | (b)   | òmùmụ                | 'offspring'        |
| (21) (a) | òjiji | 'holding', 'wearing' |                    |
|          | (b)   | òjịji                | 'dress', 'attire'  |
| (22) (a) | òbụba | 'disintegrating'     |                    |
|          | (b)   | òbùba                | 'erosion', 'gully' |



- (23) (a) òlùlù 'marrying'  
 (b) òlùlù 'marriage'
- (24) (a) òbyìbya 'coming'  
 (b) òbyìbya 'advent', 'visit'

However, with forms derived from class I verbs, where the substantival form has developed a derogatory meaning, the normal gerund is used both as verbal and as non-derogatory substantival noun, as in the following instances.

- (25) (a) òriri (i) 'eating' (ii) 'feast', 'celebration'  
 (b) òriri 'greed', 'gluttony'
- (26) (a) òjùjù (i) 'refusing' (ii) 'refusal'  
 (b) òjùjù 'bad-mannered refusal'

Gerunds derived from class II verbs do not show tone alternation when used substantivally. Thus in isolation they are ambiguous in meaning, as the following examples show.

- (27) òkpùkpù (a) 'covering'; (b) 'a cover'
- (28) òtùtù (a) 'measuring'; (b) 'a measure', 'measurement'
- (29) òkìkè (a) 'creating'; (b) 'creation', 'creature'
- (30) òfùfè (a) 'worshipping'; (b) 'worship'

#### Nf.1.4. The Gerundial Infinitive

The Gerundial Infinitive is similar to the Gerund phonologically except in one respect, that is, in having the prefix i-/i- while the Gerund has o-/o-; and it differs from the Simple Infinitive by having a reduplicated stem.

Like the Gerund, the Gerundial Infinitive can be derived only from simplex class I or class II verb stem only, and is

distinguished from the Simple Infinitive form of the class III verb by the differences in their tone-structures. The tone-structure of the Gerundial Infinitive is like that of the Gerund: low-high-high for items derived from class I verbs; and low-low-low for those derived from class II verbs, as in (31) and (32), respectively.

- (31) (a) ìmume 'to be actually doing', 'to actually do'  
 (b) ìriri 'to be actually eating', 'to actually eat'  
 (c) ìgìga 'to be actually going', 'to actually go'  
 (d) ìtùtù 'to be actually throwing', 'to actually throw'
- (32) (a) ìwùwè 'to be actually taking', 'to actually take'  
 (b) ìzùzù 'to be really complete'  
 (c) ìfùfù 'to be actually going out', 'to actually go out'  
 (d) ìmùmù 'to be actually learning', 'to actually learn'

The English translations of the Igbo items point to the semantic difference between the Simple Infinitive and the Gerundial Infinitive. (See further below, p. 330 )

Gerundial Infinitives of class I verbs undergo tone alternation in the same way as the Gerunds of the same class, but in this case <sup>sub</sup>stativization is not involved. The difference involved is one of emphasis, the emphatic form taking low-low-high tones in place of the ordinary, non-emphatic tones of low-high-high, as in (33) and (34). Gerundial infinitives of class II verbs used the same tone-structure, employing phonetic features for emphasis.

- (33) (a) ìmume 'to be actually doing'  
 (b) ìmùme 'to be actually doing' (emphatic)
- (34) (a) ìjuju 'to actually ask'  
 (b) ìjùju 'to actually ask' (emphatic)

#### Nf.1.5. The Aorist Participle

The Aorist Participle is derived by prefixing the harmonizing vowel a-/e- to a reduplicated simplex class I or class II stem.

An item derived from a class I verb has high-high-high tones while one derived from a class II verb has high-low-low tones.

Class III verbs and complex verb stems do not have Aorist Participial forms.

The term 'Aorist' is applied to this form because it has the characteristic aorist prefix, a-/e-, and semantically has the aspectual sense of the aorist verb form as discussed under Tense, p. 87F, AS.4, p. 120F (a feature which is present in all forms derived from the aorist verb form, but which has not hitherto been noticed because this verb form has not received treatment at depth before now). The term is used, additionally, to clearly distinguish this Participle from the Simple Participle, and thereby suggest a fundamental difference between the two types of participle. See further below.

The Aorist Participle is always used as an adjective (except in the case of substantivized items), and means 'capable of being...', 'worthy of being...', 'having the quality of

being...' whatever the verb from which the form is derived denotes.

Consider the following examples, (35) representing forms from class I verbs, and (36) representing those from class II verbs.

- (35) (a) ag'ug'u 'readable', 'worth reading', 'deserving to be read'
- (b) agiga 'worth going to', 'passable'
- (c) alulu 'marriageable', etc
- (d) emume 'doable', 'practicable'
- (e) eriri 'edible', 'fit to eat'
- (36) (a) akikà 'worth telling', 'deserving to be said'
- (b) atùtù 'measurable', 'capable of being measured'
- (c) edhìdhì 'bearable', 'capable of being endured'
- (d) ehìlì 'plantable', 'buriable'

The Aorist Participle is included here to complete the list of Non-finite forms derived from verbs. It is classified as an adjective and so dealt with again as Adjective Form 21. See p. 410<sup>F</sup>.

#### Nf.1.5.1. Substantivization of the Aorist Participle

The Aorist Participle can be substantivized in two ways: (a) by using the same form as a noun; (b) or by altering the tones of the form (as in the case of the Gerund and the Gerundial infinitive). The altered form usually has <sup>a</sup>derogatory sense, implying criticism or condemnation, or some similar sense. This applies particularly to Aorist Participles from

class I verbs in which the possibility of tone alternation is much greater than in those derived from class II verbs. In the following examples (b) represents forms in which there has been tone alternation.

- (37) (a) ajuju (i) 'questionable'; (ii) 'a question'  
 (b) ajùju 'improper question'; 'ill-fitting question'
- (38) (a) egbugbu (i) 'capable of being cut'; (ii) 'an axe'  
 (b) egbùgbu 'malicious or wicked damaging of life'
- (39) (a) elile (i) 'worth watching'; (ii) 'spectacle'  
 (b) elìle 'bad-mannered or suspicious looking at'
- (40) (a) ejije (i) 'imitable'  
 (b) ejìje (i) 'imitation'; (ii) 'mimicry'
- (41) (a) ekwukwu 'speakable'  
 (b) ekwùkwu 'talkativeness', 'loquacity'; 'irresponsible talk'
- (42) (a) emume 'doable', 'practicable'  
 (b) emùme 'Heinous/wicked deed'
- (43) (a) aryiryọ 'worth begging (for)'  
 (b) aryìryọ 'begging', 'pleading'

The following examples illustrate forms from class II verbs used with different meanings.

- (44) ekùkù (i) 'capable of being breathed'; (ii) 'a loud and long shout'; (iii) 'pulsating pain'
- (45) amùmù (i) 'worth learning'; (ii) 'knowledge'; (iii) 'pseudo-knowledge'

There are however instances where tone alternation has

taken place in substantivized forms derived from class II verbs, as in the following examples which are the only ones so far discovered.

- (46) (a) ehynihynè 'capable of deviating from'  
 (b) èhynihynè 'afternoon' (decline of day)  
 (c) èhynihynè 'dizzy feeling', 'a feeling of physical dis-ease'
- (47) (a) akwhùkwhà 'capable of being pushed'  
 (b) àkwhùkwhà 'fatality', 'fate', 'fateful urge'
- (48) (a) atùtù 'capable of being pecked'  
 (b) àtùtù 'spotty appearance'
- (49) (a) agbùgbà 'capable of being levered up'  
 (b) àgbùgbà 'malicious tale', 'harmful gossip'
- (50) (a) agwùgwà 'capable of changing essence'  
 (b) àgwùgwà 'illusiveness'

## Nf.2. Meaning differences between Non-finite Verb Forms

The meaning differences between the Non-finite forms are briefly stated and illustrated.

All the forms express abstract notions in quite subtle ways which cannot be fully explained here. The Simple Infinitive sets out the abstract notion denoted by the verb as an outcome or a possible outcome; and suggests an element of purpose in the actualizing of the notion, though this depends in part on the verb associated with the infinitive. The Gerundial Infinitive lays stress on the 'actualizing' of the notion, assuming that it is possible of realization, hence

the translations given earlier. The Gerund is noncommittal about the actualization and represents the notion denoted by the verb as a theory. The Simple Participle, on the other hand, represents the 'fact' of the actualization of the notion. And, as has already been explained, the Aorist Participle, is concerned not with 'action' but with quality.

Consider the following examples, using the verb *isī* 'to cook'.

(51) Ọ còrò /isī/ ya. 'He wants to cook it.'

(52) Ọ còrò /ìsisi/ yā. 'He wants the actual cooking of it (not talking about cooking it)'

(53) Ọ jùrù màkà /òsisi/ yā. 'He asked about the cooking of it.'

(54) Ọ jì na /nsi/ yā. 'It depends upon getting it cooked.'

(55) Ọ wū jì /esisi/. 'It is a cookable yam.'

### Nf.3. The functions of the Non-finite Forms

All the Non-finite forms, except the Aorist Participle, have verbal and nominal characteristics. These are very briefly described and illustrated, with more attention given to the Simple Participle.

Being derived from verbs, the Simple Infinitive, the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Simple Participle often take Complements when they occur. Indeed the first three almost invariably take Complements except in transformationally determined contexts to be illustrated below.

As nominals, all four can occur as subjects, or as objects

or Complements (as well as have one themselves). They can also be modified by nominal modifying elements, such as adjectives, possessive pronouns, deictic elements and nouns. They can themselves function as modifiers of other nominals. The Infinites and the Gerund are illustrated as follows.

The forms derived from the verb *izū* 'to buy' are used in all instances.

(a) As Subjects

- (56) /*izū ahyā*/ *nà àtò yā ùtò*. 'To trade ('to buy market') gives him pleasure.'
- (57) /*izūzū ahyā*/ *dì ichè n'itù izū ahyā*. 'To actually trade is different from planning to trade.'
- (58) /*òzūzū ahyā*/ *fùtàrà eg'o*. 'Trading means money.'

(b) As Complements

- (59) *ò jùrù /izū motò/*. 'He refused to buy a car.'
- (60) *ò jùrù /izūzū motò/ mgbè o kwèchàràlà ọnụ*. 'He refused actually to buy the car after he had made an offer for it.'
- (61) *ò kwughī /òzūzū motò/*, *ọ wū òkwùkwọ yā*. 'He did not talk about the buying of the car, but about the driving of it.'

(c) As Nominal Modifiers

- (62) *eg'o /izū ụlò/* 'money for buying a house' ('money to buy house')
- (63) *eg'o /izūzū ụlò/* 'Money to actually buy the house with'
- (64) *eg'o /òzūzū ụlò/* 'Money for buying the house'



(d) Modified by other elements

In these examples the modified unit is bracketed, and the modifying element put in slants //.

(65) (Ìzū ahya) /yā/ nà abhàra yā urù. 'His trading brings him profit.' ('To trade his ...').

(66) (Ìzuzū ahyā) /ya/ nà èwe og'è. 'His buying things takes time.'

(67) (Òzuzū ahyā) /ya/ wū mà ò nàtàrà eg'o nà bàngì. 'His trading will depend upon his getting a loan from the bank.'

Adjectives and other modifying elements can take the place of the pronoun /ya/ in these sentences.

In (56) to (67) the Non-finite forms have complements in each instance of their occurrences. But the Simple Infinitive can lack a Complement when this has already occurred in a previous clause, as in (68), and the Gerundial Infinitive and the Gerund lack it when it has already occurred as the Complement of the finite verb in the same clause, as in (69) and (70), respectively.

(68) Q. Ònù còrò /ìzū akwukwò/? 'Did you want to buy books?'

A. Ee, anyì còrò /ìzū. 'Yes, we wanted to buy.'

(69) Ò còrò /akwukwò/ ìzuzū. 'He wanted to actually buy the books.'

(70) Ò còrò /akwukwò/ òzuzū. 'What he wanted for the books was buying them.'

In (69) and (70) /akwukwò/ 'books' is the Complement of both the finite verb 'còrò' and the non-finite verbs, but having

occurred once, it does not occur a second time.

The Simple Participle is singled out for special attention because this is the first time that the form under consideration has been given this name, which has the effect of pointing out its verbal as well as nominal and other functions. Hitherto it has been the practice to label it 'noun', and no mention has been made of its verbal characteristics and its adjectival functions (which it shares with the other non-finite forms.)

As a verbal form it can take Complements, but often these are deleted, as in (71), where the deletable elements are bracketed.

- (71) (a) /mmegbu (mādhù) /adīghì mma. 'Cheating (people) is not good.'
- (b) /Nrnụcha (ornū à) / ràrà àhụ. 'Finishing (this piece of work) is difficult.'
- (c) Ọ dị yà /mmegbu (mādhù) / imēre m ya. 'He feels that he is being cheated if he does it for me.'  
(It is to him cheating (people/someone) to do it for me.)

It can also function as an adjectival element, as in (72).

- (72) (a) onye /nzofùta (mādhù) / 'a saviour' ('person saving (people)')
- (b) ihyne /nkèta (òkè) 'an inheritance' ('thing sharing-to share')
- (c) ndị /nkuzi (ihynē) / 'teachers' ('people teaching (things)')

As a verb it can occur with 'na' or 'ga' in a Complex Clause, having similar functions as the aorist verb form which can also occur with the 'na'. The difference is that it gives a notion of 'certainty' to the performance or non-performance of the 'action' denoted by the verb from which it is derived. Compare (a) and (b) of (73) and (74), the (b) having the Simple Participle form, and (a) the aorist form of the same verb.

- (73) (a) Ọ gǎ /àbya/. 'He will come.' (vague promise)  
 (b) Ọ gǎ /mbya/. 'He will certainly come.' (assurance)
- (74) (a) Ọ nǎ /ème/ yā. 'He is doing it, as a matter of fact.'  
 (b) Ọ nǎ yǎ /mme/. 'He is indeed doing it, I assure you.'

Its verbal nature is further confirmed by the fact that the aorist form of it can occur following it, as is usual in a Complex Clause Type II. Compare (b) and (a) of (75).

- (75) (a) Ọ gǎ /àbya ābya./ 'He will come (emphatic/certain)'  
 (b) Ọ gǎ /mbya ābya/. 'He will certainly come.' (emphatic)

These facts prove conclusively that the analysis and categorization given here of the form under discussion is correct.

#### Nf.4. Negative Non-finite Form

The negative form of the non-finite forms is derived by prefixing a-/e- to the stem of the verb. The prefix always has a high-tone, and the tones of the stem are as described for the Simple Infinitive. There is only one negative form

for all the subcategories of Non-finites (except the Aorist Participle which has no negative counterpart) derived from the same stem, as in the examples set out below.

(i) Class I Verb imē 'to do'

(i) Positive

(ii) Negative

- |          |       |                  |     |                      |
|----------|-------|------------------|-----|----------------------|
| (76) (a) | imē   | 'to do'          | emē | 'not to do'          |
| (b)      | imume | 'to actually do' | emē | 'not to actually do' |
| (c)      | omume | 'doing'          | emē | 'not doing'          |
| (d)      | mme   | 'getting done'   | emē | 'not getting done'   |
| (e)      | emume | 'doable'         | ∅   | '                    |

(ii) Class II Verb izà 'to sweep'

- |          |       |                     |     |                         |
|----------|-------|---------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| (77) (a) | izà   | 'to sweep'          | azà | 'not to sweep'          |
| (b)      | izizà | 'to actually sweep' | azà | 'not to actually sweep' |
| (c)      | ozizà | 'sweeping'          | azà | 'not sweeping'          |
| (d)      | nzà   | 'getting swept'     | azà | 'not getting swept'     |
| (e)      | azizà | 'sweepable'         | ∅   |                         |

(iii) Class III Verb igbugbu 'to wave about'

- |          |         |                 |         |                     |
|----------|---------|-----------------|---------|---------------------|
| (78) (a) | igbugbù | 'to wave about' | egbugbù | 'not to wave about' |
| (b)      | mgbugbù | 'waving about'  | egbugbù | 'not waving about'  |

The exact meaning of the negative non-finite form depends upon the subcategory of positive non-finite which it serves as negative form. Consider these examples.

- (79) (a) /Mme yā/ ùgbu à dì ò òràmàhù. 'To have it done now is difficult for me.'

(b) /Emē yā/ ùgbu à dì ò òràmàhù. 'Not to have it done now is difficult for me.'

(80) (a) Ì cèrè nà /òmume yā/ dì òmfe? 'Do you think doing it is easy?'

(b) Ì cèrè nà /emē yā/ dì òmfe? 'Do you think not doing it is easy?'

#### Nf.5. Rule of Non-finite Derivation

The rule for Non-finite derivation is now given as follows:

$$(81) \text{ Non-finite } \longrightarrow \text{ Prefix } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a/e-} \\ \text{i/i-} \\ \text{o/o-} \\ \text{N-} \end{array} \right\} + \text{ Verb Stem } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simplex} \\ \text{Complex} \\ \text{Reduplex} \end{array} \right\}$$

Simplex stands for the simple unsuffixed, uncompounded verb root; Complex for suffixed or compounded verb stem; and Reduplex for the reduplicated verb root. The rule does not take account of the tones which will have to be inserted in accordance with the conditions already described earlier.

#### Nf.6. Table of Non-finite Forms

Using the three verbs imē 'to do', iza 'to sweep' and igbugbù 'to wave about', a table of Non-finite Forms is given as follows.

Table

		<u>POSITIVE</u>			<u>NEGATIVE</u>		
Class:	Stem:	Simple: Infin.	Gerund.: Infin.	Gerund:	Simple: Part.	Aorist: Part.	
I	me	imē	ìmume	òmume	mme	emume	emē
II	zà	izà	ìzìzà	òzìzà	nzà	azìzà	azà

III gbugbù igbūgbù ∅ ∅ mgbugbù ∅ egbūgbù

.....

Class III verbs use their Simple Participle forms for the functions performed by the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Aorist Participle of Class I and II verbs. The same applies to the Simple Participle forms of Complex stems.

Consider (82) to (84) in which (b) represents the Simple Participle of a class III verb.

- (82) (a) /Òmum\_e / hnâ dì mkpà. 'Doing them is necessary.'  
 (b) /Ntütù/ ..... 'Picking them up is necessary.'  
 (c) /Mmebi/ ..... 'Spoiling them is necessary.'
- (83) (a) /Ìmume/ hnā kā mkpà. 'Actually doing them is more necessary.'  
 (b) /Ntütù/ ..... 'Actually picking them up is more necessary.'  
 (c) /Mmebi/ ..... 'Actually spoiling them is more necessary.'
- (84) (a) ọrnụ /emume/ 'work deserving to be done.'  
 (b) nkwy /ntütù/ 'palm-fruits deserving to be picked up'  
 (c) ọrnụ /mmebi/ 'work deserving to be spoilt'

CHAP. 14Derived NounsDN.1. Types of Derived Nouns

A number of Igbo nouns are derived from verbs by affixation accompanied, in some cases, by the morphological process of reduplication, or duplication. These processes yield two basic types of nouns: (a) substantival nouns, that is, nouns which identify some concrete or abstract entities; and (b) 'verbal nouns', that is, nouns which are more or less nominalizations of the 'action' or 'state' denoted by the verb of origin. These basic types are, roughly, distinguished by the fact that the substantival nouns (except some subtypes of 'agentive nouns') do not take Complements, while the verbal nouns are very often used with Complements, thus yielding phrasal nouns of varying lengths determined by the number of post-verb elements.

DN.1.1. Derivational Prefixes

The prefixes involved in the derivation of nouns are the same as those used in the derivation of Non-finite forms, with the addition of the vowel /U/. Thus the complete list is

- (i) A- (a-/e-); (ii) I- (i-/e-); (iii) O- (o-/o-);  
 (iv) U- (u-/u-); and (v) N- (which is homorganic).

DN.1.2. Derivational and Derivational-cum-Inflexional Suffixes

There are two types of suffixes to be distinguished in the derivation of nouns by suffixation: (a) suffixes which are entirely derivational; (b) suffixes which have inflexional functions in the language but also have, additionally, deriva-

tional functions. (This applies also to suffixes which occur in the derivation of adjectives.) The suffixes in (a) may also have non-inflexional but still grammatical function in the language.

The two types of suffixes are given as follows: (a) -m; (b) (i) -A/E; (ii) -rA/E.

The suffix -m probably derives from the first person singular, unemphatic pronoun. See pp. 16 and 17 below.

The suffix -A/E is the 'Intensive' Aspect which as a derivative is assimilated to the vowel of the preceding syllable. But this characteristic has been observed earlier in As.8.10, p. 160 )

The -rA/E suffix is the 'Dative--Benefactive' case suffix.

The tones of these suffixes depend on the types of noun in which they occur and the class of the verbs from which the nouns are derived.

### DN.1.3. Derivational infixes

Infixes occur in derived nouns (and also adjectives) in derivations in which discontinuous duplication occurs. A limited number of such forms are given in (i) to (vi) as being elements which have other grammatical functions in the language. All others are lexical suffixes which take up the positions of infixes when the verbs in which they occur form the bases for derived nouns. The list of lexical suffixes is given in a separate chapter at the end of this work.

The grammatical elements used as derivatives are given as



follows:

- (i) -m- (the same as -m above);
- (ii) -mA- (probably the conjunction 'ma' 'and')
- (iii) -lA/E ('case' suffix -la)
- (iv) -rA/E ('case' suffix -rA/E)
- (v) -tA/E ('case' suffix -tA)
- (vi) -ghA/E ('number' suffix -ghA; or lexical suffix -ghA/E).

The occurrence of these affixes will be illustrated in the examples to be given below.

#### DN.1.4. Notions carried by various types of derived nouns

It is necessary to say a brief word about the meaning of derived nouns generally, with particular reference to verbal nouns. On the whole, nouns with the prefix O-, imply agentivity; those with the prefix A- imply the 'fact or possibility of the action or state' denoted by the verb of origin, and those with the prefix N- imply the 'actualization of the action or state' identified by the verbs on which they are based. Those with the prefix U- (and which may not identify objects) usually represent abstractions. Some of the formations have bad connotations, while some others realize the notion of plurality -either indicating a number of objects, or implying a number of the same type of 'action'. An attempt will be made to bring out the nuances of the forms (where possible) in the translations of the examples.

## DN.2. The Rules of Noun Derivation from Verbs

The rules for the derivation of nouns from verbs are now given and exemplified as follows. The order of giving the rules is not important.

### DN.2.1. Rule 1:

Derived N. --- Prefix  $\begin{pmatrix} A \\ I \\ O \\ U \\ N \end{pmatrix}$  + V.Stem  $\begin{pmatrix} \text{Simplex} \\ \text{Duplex} \\ \text{Reduplex} \end{pmatrix}$  + Suffix  $\begin{pmatrix} -A/E \\ -rA/E \\ -M \end{pmatrix}$

This rule yields substantival nouns. The tones of the resulting words are determined by the class of the verb. On the whole, whatever may be the tone of the affixes, the stem takes a low tone in nouns derived from class II verbs, and a high tone in nouns derived from class I verbs. But this does not always work out this way for all nouns derived from class I verbs, as will be seen in some of the examples. Words that depart from the norm are marked by asterisks \*.

### DN.2.1.(a) Prefix + Simplex V.Stem

#### From Class I Verbs

- (1) (a) àju 'coolness', 'calmness', 'self-control' (ìjū 'to cool')
- (b) àsìcò 'rumour', 'report', 'falsehood' (ìsì 'to say')
- (c) àghò 'protective intervention' (ìghò 'to catch')
- (d) àkò 'sagacity', 'cleverness' (ìkò (àkò) 'to be clever')
- (e) awa 'a slice' (ìwā 'to slice', 'to crack/break')
- (f) aju 'a pad' (ìjū 'to cool')
- (g) eku 'ladle' (ikū 'to ladle out, scoop out')
- (h) ekwe 'a drum/gong' (ikwē 'to sound out')

- (2) (a) iwe 'anger' (iwē (iwe) 'to be angry')  
 (b) ikhe 'strength', 'power', 'authority' (ikhē (ikhe) 'to be strong')  
 (c) ivu 'load/burden' (ivū 'to carry/lift')  
 (d) ijhēx 'a journey/walk' (ijhē 'to go')  
 (e) iwa 'a non-poisonous type of cassava' (iwā 'to split/slice')  
 (f) iwu 'a law/regulation' (iwū 'to hurt')
- (3) (a) ornyu 'farm', 'work' (irnyū 'to work/do')  
 (b) okhe 'male' (ikhē 'to be strong')  
 (c) owa 'a torch of bamboo strips' (iwā 'to split')  
 (d) oko 'skin rash' (iko 'to irritate/scratch')  
 (e) òme 'doer' (imē 'to do')  
 (f) òke 'watcher', 'a rat' (ikē 'to watch for')  
 (g) òle 'looker' (ilē 'to look')  
 (h) òga 'goer' (igā 'to go')
- (4) (a) ùwe 'clothes', 'shirts/blouses' (iwē 'to put over')  
 (b) ùme 'misfortune', 'tragic loss' (imē 'to happen', 'to do')  
 (c) ùwa 'echo', 'fissure' (iwā 'to split')  
 (d) ùtu 'wood-worm' (itū 'to bore')  
 (e) ume 'breath', 'might' (imē 'to do')  
 (f) unwu 'famine' (inwū 'to wither/die')  
 (g) ukwu 'leg/feet' (ikwū 'to go with')
- (5) (a) nka 'agedness' (ikā 'to mature/get hard and firm')  
 (b) mma 'goodness', 'beauty' (imā 'to be good/beautiful')

- (c) mpe 'a chip' (ipē 'to chip/be chipped')
- (d) mbha 'a boast', 'scolding' (ibhā 'to boast/scold')
- (e) ñke 'surveillance' (ikē 'to watch for/over')
- (f) ñtu 'a nail/tack' (itū 'to pin up')

From Class II Verbs

- (6) (a) ajù 'dizziness' (ijù 'to thrash')
- (b) ag'à 'a thorny plant' (ig'à 'to claw')
- (c) ekè 'creator', 'natural habit' (ikè 'to create')
- (d) emù 'mockery', 'deceit' (imù 'to walk/do secretively')
- (e) àjà 'sacrifice' (ijà 'to open out', 'to expose')
- (f) àkpà 'a bag' (ikpà 'to weave')
- (g) ènyò (ñnyò) 'a mirror' (inyò 'to peep/peer')
- (h) èbè 'ledge' (ibè 'to perch')
- (7) (a) ilì 'grave' (ilì 'to bury')
- (b) ivù 'fatness' (ivù 'to be/become fat/big')
- (c) iwù 'ruin' (iwù 'to go bad')
- (d) iwì 'scales', 'disaster' (iwì 'to shed light, feathery forms')
- (8) (a) okhè 'a boundary' (ikhè 'to stand fixed')
- (b) ọzà 'a filter' (izà 'to filter'; 'to sweep')
- (c) okwhà 'a warning' (ikwhà 'to push')
- (d) okè 'a share', 'sharer' (ikè 'to share (out)')
- (e) okù 'a call', 'a howl' (ikù 'to howl')
- (f) okò 'a digger/planter' (ikò 'to dig/plant')
- (9) (a) ụzò 'way/road/path' (izò 'to tread')

- (b) ɸkà 'a talk/matter' (ɸkà 'to say/tell')
- (c) ɸrò 'game/play' (ɸrò 'to play')
- (d) ɸznù 'a noise' (ɸznù 'to make a noise')
- (e) ɸdhà 'a sound' (ɸdhà 'to sound')
- (10) (a) ñkà 'art', 'skill' (ɸkà 'to carve')
- (b) ñkù 'wing' (ɸkù 'to blow/fan')
- (c) ñkpà 'scissors' (ɸkpà 'to clip')
- (d) mkpà 'need/necessity' (ɸkpà 'to clinch')
- (e) mkpè 'strip', 'bark', 'husk' (ɸkpè 'to tear off')
- (f) ncà 'soap' (ɸcà 'to cut up/away')

DN.2.1.(b) Prefix+Simplex V.Stem+Suffix-M

- (11) (a) ñjhēm 'a journey' (ɸjhē 'to go' - Class I)
- (b) àghom 'a disaster', 'accident' (ɸghō 'to change nature' - Cl.I)
- (c) àkwām 'peace', 'return to normality' (ɸkwā 'to do/mend' - Cl.I)
- (d) èkwēm 'consent' (ɸkwē 'to agree')
- (e) òkpèm/òkpòm+òkhy 'heat' (ɸkpè (òkhy) 'to be hot' - Cl.II)
- (f) uryòm 'a poisonous plant' (ɸryò 'to bend/droop' - Cl.II)
- (g) ùtùm 'a large quantity' (ɸtù 'to hack off portions of' - Cl.II)
- (h) erim 'blood relationship/relation' (ɸrī 'to eat' - Class I)

DN.2.1.(c) Prefix+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix-A/E

The majority of words of this form have the prefix O- and

conote 'one who has a (bad) reputation for doing or being' what the verb denotes. And nouns derived from Class I verbs have the same tone-structure as those derived from Class II verbs. There are only two items with the prefix I- which have been found, and they refer to things and not persons. They are listed first.

- (12) (a) igbeē 'crawling' (of a child) (igbē 'to crawl')  
 (b) idheē 'flood' (idhē 'to rush' (of water))
- (13) (a) òmeè 'reputed (bad) doer' (imē 'to do')  
 (b) òkweè 'one who is always agreeing' (ikwē 'to agree')  
 (c) òcọ̀ò 'inquisitive person' (icọ̀ 'to look for')  
 (d) òzaà 'a (bad) sweeper' (izà 'to sweep')  
 (e) ònyòò 'a peeping Tom' (inyò 'to peep')  
 (f) ògụ̀y 'one given to refusing' (igụ̀ 'to refuse')

DN.2.1.(d) Prefix+VStem (Duplex)+Suffix A/E

Nouns with this form have two usages: they may refer to persons who do or become, in an excessive manner, what the verb denotes. Thus they constitute intensive forms of those forms illustrated in (13). They may, on the other hand, represent the 'nominalization' of the action or state identified by the verb, indicating its excessiveness.

Words from Class I verbs have the same tone-structure as those from class II verbs: LLHL.

- (14) (a) ògàgàà 'wanderer, 'foreigner' (igā 'to go')  
 (b) òlèlèè 'one who looks excessively', 'a spectacular thing' (ilē 'to look')

- (c) òbèbeè 'one who cries too much' (ibē 'to cry')
- (d) òzàzàà 'one who sweeps too often', 'a thing/event that sweeps away mightily' (izà 'to sweep')
- (e) òkòkòò 'one who plants much', 'activity that entails a great deal of digging operation' (ìkò 'to dig/plant')

DN.2.1.(e) Prefix+VStem(Reduplex)+Suffix A/E

Items with this form are similar in meaning to those in (1) (c). The only difference lies in the composition of the stem of the verb of derivation, which, for the items exemplified below, is a reduplicated stem. The items have the prefix O-, and LHML tones.

- (15) (a) òtùtùù 'one in the habit of picking up things' (ìtùtù 'to pick up many things')
- (b) òbibīī 'one in the habit of spoiling things' (ibībī 'to spoil')
- (c) ònyunyōō 'one who always behaves foolishly' (inyūnyō 'to behave foolishly')

DN.2.1.(f) Prefix+VStem (Reduplex)+Suffix rA/E

Items of this form identify objects, and have the tones HLHM.

- (16) (a) akùkòrò 'a thorny vine' (ìkùkò 'to go/do sluggishly')
- (b) akhùkhurū 'crust' (ìkhùkhù 'to sc̣ape about')
- (c) egbùgberē 'edge' (ìgbùgbè 'to hang', 'to be slow')
- (d) okpùkpurū 'shell' (ìkpùkpù 'to go about in crouching fashion' (ìkpù 'to turn upside-down, to cover'))

- (e) nkikerē 'shell of nuts' (ikikē 'to fragment by hitting hard')
- (f) mgbùgborō 'peels' (igbō 'to hack off large portions')
- (g) mkpùkperē 'peel', 'bark' (ikpè 'to peel off')

DN.2.1.(g) Prefix+VStem (Reduplex)

Items of this form identify objects. They vary in tone-structure of which there are five types: HHH, HHL, LIL, LHL, HLHM. They may have as prefix A-, I-, O-, U-, or N-.

- (17) (a) avnūvnū 'chaff' (ivnūvnū 'to break up into particles')
- (b) azizà 'broom' (izà 'to sweep')
- (c) ugbugbō 'bark' (igbō 'to hack off')
- (d) uznuznū 'dust' (iznūznū 'to make a great deal of (e.g. noise)')
- (18) (a) èbùbè 'awe', 'fear', 'wonder' (ibùbè 'to stagger')
- (b) àbùbà 'fat', 'grease' (ibùbà 'to smudge')
- (c) èrùrù 'electric-fish' (irùrù 'to cause to get soft')
- (d) ibùbè 'floating dust' (ibùbè 'to stagger/float about')
- (e) ikpùkpè 'skin' (e.g. of banana), 'peel' (ikpè 'to peel off')
- (f) òzizà 'broom' (izà 'to sweep')
- (19) (a) ifufe 'wind' (ifē 'to blow')
- (b) iryiryo 'a type of flies' (which flutter, are gregarious, small and fond of succulent foods) (iryiryo 'to tremble')



- (c) ɔtutɔ 'many' (it̩t̩ 'to pile up') (~ ntutɔ)
- (20) (a) ɔvɔvɔn̩ 'a type of stinging caterpillar' (iv̩n̩ 'to smart')
- (b) ɔfɔfɔ 'foam' (if̩f̩ 'to blow with the mouth')
- (c) ɔrurɔ 'a type of rodent' (ir̩r̩ 'to roam about in congested surroundings')
- (21) m̩gbugb̩ (ɔkh̩) 'fire-brand' (ɛgb̩gb̩ 'to wave about')

DN.2.1.(h) Prefix+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix rA/E

The items identify 'objects'. Items derived from class I verbs have high stems, but vary in tones in their prefixes and suffixes, particularly when the prefix is A-. Forms derived from class II verbs have low stems, with low suffixes, and prefixes which may be high or low. The lists are given under these two classes of verbs.

From Class I Verbs

- (22) (a) ɛberɛ 'mercy', 'compassion' (ib̩ɛ 'to cry')
- (b) ɛkperɛ/ɛkpere 'prayer' (ikp̩ɛ 'to plead')
- (c) ɛfere 'lightness' (if̩ɛ 'to fly/blow')
- (d) efere 'plate'
- (e) ekere 'a small wooden drum' (ik̩ɛ 'to hit hard')
- (f) ɛghorɛ 'pleading' (igh̩rɛ 'to howl', 'to plead')
- (g) ekherɛ 'fibre of raffia-palm' (ikh̩ɛ 'to tie (up) firmly')
- (23) (a) ifurɔ 'flowers' (if̩ 'to germinate')
- (b) ikpurɔ 'maggots' (ikp̩ 'to enter under')
- (24) ɔw̩ara 'bamboo strips' (iw̩a 'to split')

- (25) (a) ugurū 'saliva trail' (igū 'to drip', 'to take out of liquid')
- (b) ukorō 'laziness' (ikō 'to be lacking')
- (c) ubarā 'plentifulness' (ibā 'to increase')
- (d) ufèrèx 'wind' (ifē 'to blow')
- (26) (a) mbara 'wideness', 'width' (ibā 'to increase')
- (b) mkpara 'walking-stick' (ikpā 'to move with something')
- (c) mbhōro 'central beam of a house' 'ibhō 'to put load on the head')
- (d) nchāra 'red earth used as a colouring' (ichā 'to ripen')
- (e) mkpurū 'seed' (ikpū 'to make round like a ball')

From Class II Verbs

- (27) (a) ekwhòrò 'jealousy', 'hostility' (ikwhò 'to have regard to')
- (28) (a) òwèrè 'back-yard' (iwè 'to take')
- (b) ògbàrà 'a line', 'a batch' (igbà 'to join')
- (29) (a) ukhòrò 'fume' (ikhò 'to fume')
- (b) unwòrò 'discarded skin of snake', 'change' (inwò 'to change')
- (c) ubìrì 'belch' (ibì 'to cut loose')
- (30) (a) iwìrì 'particles' (iwì 'to break up into particles', 'to shell feathery forms')
- (b) ihynèrè 'width' (ihynè 'to turn aside, go astray')
- (31) (a) nkhòrò 'hook', 'horn' (ikhò 'to hook/hang up')
- (b) mkpurū 'shortness of length' (ikpū 'to blunt')

DN.2.(ii) Rule 2

For the derivation of 'verbal nouns', that is, nouns which constitute the 'nominalization' of the 'action' or 'state' represented by the verb of origin, Rule 1 given above is amended at one place. A fourth choice, Complex, is added to the VStem string. But in the development of the rule the choice of VStem is limited to Simplex, Complex, or Reduplex; and the choice of Suffix is between  $\emptyset$  and -M. So the rule schema for deriving 'verbal nouns' will be as follows:

$$\text{Derived N} \rightarrow \text{Prefix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{O} \\ \text{U} \\ \text{N} \end{pmatrix} + \text{VStem} \begin{pmatrix} \text{Simplex} \\ \text{Complex} \\ \text{Reduplex} \end{pmatrix} + \text{Suffix} \begin{pmatrix} \emptyset \\ -M \end{pmatrix}$$

As stated earlier, 'verbal nouns' can have post-verb elements which in consequence form part of the noun, thus resulting in phrasal nouns of varying lengths.

For the purpose here Non-finite Forms are left out of consideration, having been dealt with by themselves. This means that the Simple Infinitive, the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Simple Participle will not be exemplified.

Three verbs only are used for the demonstration, as the formations are tonally regular for the classes of verbs. The three verbs are: Class I irī 'to eat'; Class II izà 'to sweep'; and Class III imūmù 'to grumble'.

I. Class I Verb: irī 'to eat'

(a) Simplex VStem ± M

The prefix takes a low tone, the stem a high tone, and the

suffix a mid-tone.

- (32) `eriṁ ± Complement (i) 'the fact of eating'  
 (ii) 'the fact of having eaten'  
 (iii) 'the possibility of eating'

- (33) (a) `ori + Complement 'eater'  
 (b) `ori āny 'meat-eater' (āny 'meat')  
 (c) `ori ākwha 'egg-eater' (ākwha 'egg')  
 (d) `ori `edè 'cocoyam-eater' (edè 'cocoyam')  
 (e) `ori `enwò 'monkey-eater' (`enwò 'monkey')

The Complements in (33) are part of the noun, and this is indicated by the non-lexical tones which the nouns take in (b) to (d) which are Class I, Class II and Class III nouns, but not in (e) which is a Class IV noun.

With the prefix N- low, the stem and the suffix take high tones.

- (34) (a) `nrim + Complement. 'the fact/possibility of eating'  
 (b) `nrim āny 'meat-eating'  
 (c) `nrim ākwha 'egg-eating'  
 (d) `nrim edè 'cocoyam-eating'  
 (e) `nrim `enwò 'monkey-eating'

The occurrence of the complements is part of the formation. The complements retain their lexical tones.

- (b) Complex VStem ± M

The stem may consist of verb roots or verb root plus various types of suffixes, which are underlined in the examples.

- (35) `erikotachisiā 'the fact/possibility of completely

eating everything up'

(36) (a) òrikòtachasi + Complement 'one who completely eats up everything'

(b) òrikòtachasi ihyne dum 'one who completely eats up everything.'

(37) ñrikòtachasim

In place of this form the Simple Participle occurs, as in

(38) ñrikòtachasi 'completely eating up everything'

## II Class II Verbs

(a) Simplex VStem ± M

The stem, the prefix and the suffix (where it occurs) take low-tones.

(39) àzàm ± Complement (i) 'the fact of sweeping'  
(ii) 'the fact of having swept'  
(iii) 'the possibility of sweeping'

(40) (a) òzà + Complement 'sweeper'

(b) òzà ama 'square-sweeper'

(c) òzà èzi 'yard-sweeper'

(d) òzà ɔlò 'house-sweeper'

(e) òzà àlà 'floor-sweeper'

Observe that the complements retain their lexical tones following the class II verb derived noun. The same applies in (41).

(41) (a) ñzàm + Complement 'the fact/possibility of sweeping'

(b) ñzàm ama 'square-sweeping'

(c) ñzàm èzi 'yard-sweeping'

(d) ñzám ɸlò 'house-sweeping'

(e) ñzám alá 'floor-sweeping'

(b) Complex VStem ± M

Verbs or suffixes added to the verb root take high-tones, or low-tones according to their phonological classes, and the -m suffix takes a mid-tone.

(42) (a) àzàkòtachasiam̄ 'the fact/possibility of sweeping all together'

(b) àzàtùtechasiam̄ 'the fact/possibility of sweeping all down together'

Observe the toneme-perturbation caused by the occurrence of the class II suffix, -tù, in (b).

(43) (a) òzàkòtachasi + Complement. 'one who sweeps all together'

(b)	òzàkòtachasi	{ amā }	'one who sweeps all the {square}
(c)		{ ēzi }	{yard}
(d)		{ ɸlò }	{house}
(e)		{ alá }	{floor}

Observe that in (b) and (c) the complements take non-lexical tones as when they are in construction with another noun.

(44) \*ñzàkòtachasim̄ is replaced by the Simple Participle,

(45) ñzàkòtachasi 'sweeping up all together'

### III Class III Verb

Class III verbs have reduplicated stems, and for the purpose of verbal noun derivations are regarded as Reduplex.

(a) Reduplex VStem ± M

The tone-structure is LHMM<sup>2</sup> when the prefix A- occurs.

M<sup>2</sup> indicates that the element is in further step-down relation to the preceding element.

- (46) èmumũ̃ ± Complement
- (i) 'the fact of grumbling'
  - (ii) 'the fact of having grumbled'
  - (iii) 'the possibility of grumbling'

The tone-structure when the prefix O- occurs is LHL.

- (47) (a) òmumù + Complement 'grumbler'
- (b) òmumù mmumù 'grumbler (of grumbles)'
- (c) òmumù okwũ 'whisperer of words'

(48) ãmmumũ̃ does not occur, and is replaced by the Simple Participle form,

- (49) mmumù 'grumbling/fact of grumbling'

A form with the tone-structure LHL, and with the prefix N-, occurs in the case of some verbs, but denotes some object, as in (21) above.

- (b) Complex VStem ± M

The form with an N- prefix does not occur. With the occurrence of additional elements to the stem, the tones of the prefix A- or O- and the base stem are LHM; and the -M suffix takes a mid-tone.

- (50) èmumùsĩ̃ ± Complement 'the fact/etc. of grumbling at another'

- (51) òmumùsĩ + Complement. 'one who grumbles at another'

DN.2.(iii) Nominalized Declarative I Clause

When the -rA/E past tense suffix occurs as part of a Complex VStem, only the prefix O- can occur. Then class I and class II verb based forms have the same tone-structure; and class III based forms have LHL tones.

(52) òrìrì any 'one who ate meat' ('ate-meat-er')

(53) òzàrà èzi 'one who swept the yard' ('swept-yard-er')

(54) òmumùrù mmumù 'one who grumbled' ('grumbled-grumble-er')

This form represents the nominalization of a Declarative Form I Clause, past tense, with the third person singular pronoun O/O as subject. The subject is then transformed to a low-tone prefix. Thus, for instance, we get (55) (b) from (55) (a).

(55) (a) Ọ gbàgbùtèrè ele. 'He shot dead and acquired an antelope.'

(b) Ọgbàgbùtèrè ele. 'one who shot dead and acquired an antelope' ('shot-kill-to-Past-antelope-er')

DN.2.(iv) Nominalized Aorist Participles

With the reduplicated forms of class I verbs we get a noun form which is similar to the Aorist Participle in being composed of an A- prefix and a reduplicated stem, but which differs from the Aorist Participle in having HLH tones instead of HHH tones. Such nouns may be purely 'substantival', or be 'verbal nouns' too and <sup>may</sup> take Complements. Forms derived from class II verbs have the same form for the function of an Aorist Participle as well as for the function of derived nouns.



(See Nf.1.5; 1.5.1., pp. ~~325-328~~)

The nouns, like the Aorist Participles, have 'qualitative' meanings. Consider the following examples.

(a) Class I Verbs

- (56) (a) eriri 'quality/type of eating'
- (b) eriri anū 'magnitude of meat-eating'; 'manner of meat-eating'

- (57) (a) azūzū 'quality/type/manner of buying'
- (b) azūzū ulō 'quality/manner/type of house-buying'

(b) Class II Verbs

- (58) (a) azizā 'quality/manner/type of sweeping'
- (b) azizā ulō 'quality/manner/type of house-sweeping'

DN.2.(v) Rule 3

Derive N.  $\rightarrow$  D (Prefix(N-)+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix<sup>(Ø)</sup><sub>--A/E</sub>)

where D means 'duplicate' the result of the concatenation.

Consider the following examples with ilē 'to look', izā 'to sweep', and itūptū 'to pick up several things'

(i) With a Ø suffix, derivations from class I verbs have LLLH tones, those from class II verbs have LLLL tones, and those from class III verbs have LLHMML (where the mid-tones are of the same level.)

The items indicate either habitual, iterative 'action' or 'state', or more than one 'object'.

- (59) nlēhle (i) 'habit of looking' (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of looking' (iii) 'several things to look at'

- (60) ñzànzà (i) 'habit of sweeping'; (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of sweeping'; (iii) 'acts of sweeping several places'
- (61) ñtùtùñtùtù (i) 'habit of picking up'; (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of picking up'
- (ii) With the suffix -A/E, items can be derived only from class I and class II verbs. There is only one tone-structure for all, that is LLHMML (where the mid-tones have the same level).

The items so derived are similar in meaning to those given in (59) and (60), but more emphatic. In addition they imply attitudinal reaction on the part of the user.

- (62) ñlèèñlèè (i) 'Habit of looking'; (ii) 'frequent acts of looking'; (iii) 'all sorts of things to look at'
- (63) ñzàaṅzà (i) 'Habit of sweeping': (ii) 'Frequent acts of sweeping'; (iii) 'all sorts of places to sweep'

#### DN.2.(vi) Rule 4

This is another rule schema, and is as follows:

$$\text{Derived N.} \longrightarrow (\text{Prefix}_1 \begin{Bmatrix} \text{A-} \\ \text{I-} \\ \text{O-} \\ \text{U-} \\ \text{N-} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{VStem}(\text{Simplex})_1 + \text{Infix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-m-} \\ \text{-ma-} \\ \text{-ta-} \\ \text{-da-} \\ \text{-la-} \\ \text{-gha-} \\ \text{(etc)} \end{Bmatrix} + (\text{Prefix})_1 + \text{VStem}_1)$$

(i.e.  $(\text{Prefix}_1 + \text{VStem}_1 + \text{Infix}) + (\text{Prefix}_1 + \text{VStem}_1)$ )

Although potentially every class I verb and every class II verb can yield forms which make use of all the prefixes and all

the infixes, this is not actually the case.

With regard to the infixes, with the exception of *-m-* and *-ma-* all the others are grammatical or lexical suffixes occurring in infix positions as a result of the discontinuous duplication of prefix+base, and in consequence of their being in this position their vowels get assimilated to those of contiguous syllables, either to those preceding or those following (but always in accordance with the rule of vowel assimilation), or are harmonized.

In the translations of the items given below it is not at all possible to give the precise nuance of each item as the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb root and that of the infix plus the suggestive meaning of the duplication of the prefix+base gives a rather complex meaning which can be quite untranslatable.

As not all verbs utilize all the prefixes and infixes, various verbs will be used to illustrate the occurrence of the affixes.

(i) With infix *-m-*: The infix occurs with prefixes *A-* and *N-* only.

If the item with the infix *-m-* has the prefix *A-* it may be used as an adjective or as a noun. As an adjective it describes an object which has 'the possibility of 'being' or 'being acted upon'' according to the denotation of the verb, and as a noun it has a qualitative reference.

Class I verbs have HHHH tones and class II verbs have HLLL

tones, as in (64).

- (64) (a) elemele (i) 'having possibility of being looked at'; 'worth looking at'  
 (ii) 'a spectacle/a thing to be watched/looked at'
- (b) atùmàtù (i) 'having possibility of being measured'; 'worth/capable of being measured'  
 (ii) 'decision'; 'instruction'; 'legislation'

When the prefix is an N-, there are two possible items derivable from a class I verb; one which has the tones LHLH, and another with the tones LLHL. Only the latter type of item is derivable from a class II verb, and has the same tone-structure (as in (65)(c)).

The first type of item usually identifies an object (as in (65)(a)), while the second type usually means 'propensity to', 'addiction to'; or in some cases denotes some object (as in (65)(c)(i)).

- (65) (a) ñrìm̀ǹrì 'parasite', 'rust', 'ring-worm' (irī 'to eat')
- (b) ñrìm̀ǹrì 'propensity to eating'; 'greed'
- (c) ñtàm̀ǹt̀à (i) 'gnats'; 'biter'; 'biting insects'; (it̀à 'to bite')
- (d) ñlèm̀ǹl̀è 'propensity to look'; 'moping' (ilē 'to look')

(ii) With infix -ma-: The infix occurs only with the prefixes

A- and N-. Items so formed identify objects, and always have the 'plural' notion. The vowel of the infix is assimilated to the following one.

Items with the A- prefix have HHMLL tones if derived from class I verbs, and HLLL tones if derived from class II verbs.

- (66) (a) elemēèlè 'a number of things to be observed' (ilē 'to look')
- (b) agamāàgà 'to-ings and fro-ings'; 'frequent going about' (igā 'to go')
- (c) enyemēēnyè 'various types of gifts or givings' (inyē 'to give')
- (67) (a) èzùmeèzù 'a large body of people met together', 'an assembly' (izù 'to meet/to meet together')
- (b) àbhàmaàbhà 'excessive roominess' (ìbhà 'to enter', 'to take in')

With the O- prefix, items derived from class I verbs have LHLLH tones, and those from class II verbs have LLHLL. Such items normally have eulogistic meanings. The notion of 'plural' is still present even though the item may apply to one thing or person, but it implies 'person/thing that does and does' what the verb denotes, thus indicating 'plural action'.

- (68) (a) òsùmòòsù 'expert beater/pounder' (isù 'to pound')
- (b) ònyemòònye 'generous person' (inyē 'to give')
- (c) ògbamòògba 'expert shooter' (ìgbā 'to shoot')
- (d) ògwùmoògwù 'expert drummer'; 'a good drum' (igwù 'to drum')

(e) òkòmòòkò 'expert planter' (ìkò 'to plant')

The infix -m- and the suffix -m which occurred in other rules are probably the first person singular pronoun (m) being used as a formative in these derivations. The justification for saying this is that sometimes they are pronounced emphatically as -mù- and -mù, which is the emphatic form of the pronoun. Secondly, there exist negative clauses with the pronoun postposed to the verb which are now used as single words. For example

(68) ìgbāra /àcòghĩm/ 'to divorce' ('to shoot-for (someone)  
I do not want+'insistence')

(69) /èkweghĩm/ anāghì afù ukà. 'Non-agreement does not cause  
a quarrel.' (I do not agree does not cause a quarrel)

It is noteworthy too that the -m- and the -m occur with the forms with the A- prefix (except in (65) above), and it is known that whenever the pronoun does not occur before the verb but is postposed to it, the verb must take the aorist form with the prefix a-/e-. And the aspectual meaning of the aorist verb is consistently present in the forms with the A- prefix, including those with the -m- and -m.

The infix -ma- on the other hand is the conjunction 'ma' functioning as a formative. The notion of 'plural' which the items which contain it have comes from the conjunction of the two units it links together. Proof that it is the conjunction 'ma' is provided by its use to conjoin nouns in order to derive other nouns from them, as in the following examples.

- (70) (a) anyūmānū 'animals' ('beast and beast')  
 (b) ɔnyūmōɔnū 'rumour', 'infamy' ('mouth and mouth')  
 (c) othumōothū 'anyhow' ('how and how')  
 (d) onyemōonyè 'anyone', 'everyone' ('person and person')  
 (e) anyamāanya 'all eyes' ('eye and eye')  
 (f) ukwūmūkwū 'step by step', 'speedily' ('foot and foot')  
 (g) nnāmānnà 'every father', 'any father' ('father and father')  
 (h) òlemòòle 'some', 'a few' ('some and some')

(iii) With the rest of the infixes

With the rest of the infixes other nouns are derived which have the tone-structure ILHLL. The form expresses the notion of 'excessiveness', and the items refer to abstract notions, though sometimes they may identify objects which have the excessive quality implied by the form.

The vowel of the infix is assimilated to the following vowel unless the following syllable is a consonant. Only a few examples are given.

- (71) (a) àlùghaàlù 'excessive untidiness'; 'indiscipline' (ilù 'to struggle')  
 (b) ègbèghègbè 'excessive weakness' (igbè 'to weaken')  
 (c) ùthìghùthì 'excessive height' (ìthì 'to stretch')
- (72) (a) ifètiifè 'inbetween', 'a state of suspension', 'mid-air' (ifè 'to cross over')  
 (b) àkàtaakà 'excessive size/strength' (ìkà 'to exceed')

- (c) ùkwhùtuùkwhù 'a very large bundle' (ikwhū 'to join')
- (73) (a) èbèdèèbè 'excessive broadness' (ibēdè 'to be broad')
- (b) òbòdòòbò 'excessive broadness' (ibōdò 'to be broad')
- (74) ìbèrììbè 'stupidity' (ibērì 'to behave in a stupid manner')

When the prefix is a nasal consonant, the vowel of the infix is assimilated to the preceding vowel.

- (75) (a) ìmìghìmmì 'excessive protruberance' (ìmì 'to draw out')
- (b) ìmfùrùmḡfù 'a very serious outcome' (ìfù 'to come/go out')
- (c) ìgbàghamgbà 'an excessively unwieldy object' (ìgbà 'to lever up')
- (d) ìkpùrùmḡkpù 'round-worm' (ìkpùrù 'to take with the mouth')

(iv) With verb roots in place of infixes

A number of words occur which have verb roots in place of infixes (underlined in the examples below), and quite a number of them have the prefix N-.

- (76) (a) ìnìkìnlì 'resistance' (ìlì 'to defy'; ìkì 'to make small')
- (b) ìkwèkèkwè 'swaying' (ikwē 'to nod'; ikè 'to divide')
- (c) ìkwhèkèkwhè 'tautness' (ikwhē 'to tie taut'; 'ikè 'to divide')



- (d) ñnyĩkĩñnyĩ 'heaviness' (ĩnyĩ 'to be heavy'; ikĩ  
'to make small')
- (e) mǵèkèṁgbè 'pendulousness' (igbè 'to weary'; ikè  
'to divide')
- (f) mǵèkèṁfè 'scatteredness' (ifè 'to shower'; ikè  
'to divide')
- (g) òfèkèòfè 'something light' (ifè 'to fly/blow';  
ikè 'to divide')
- (h) òfèkheòfè 'something light and stiff' (ifè 'to fly';  
ikhè 'to be strong/firm')

Now follow a list of the more general derivations which apply to the majority of verbs. Where a particular form is not yet in use, it is marked by a star. Bearing in mind the descriptions which have been given of the general meaning of the types of forms the translations to be given below will be approximate. Only eleven class I and class II verbs are chosen, the majority being class I.

### DN.3. Derivations from root verbs

(++ indicates that the form can take complements)

#### (a) Class I verbs:

##### (1) iwā 'to split/slice/saw/break/crack'

1. awa 'a slice'; 'a portion'

2. xawam

3. awam ++ 'fact/possibility of slicing'

4. awamawa 'being sliceable'; 'act of slicing'; 'thing to slice'

5. awamāāwà 'types of slicing'; 'a number of sliced things'
6. awūwa (Aorist Part.) 'sliceable'
7. awūwa 'slicing' (bad sense)
8. àwàghaāwà 'over-slicing'; 'over-sliced object'
9. iwā 'to slice' (Simple Infinitive)
10. ìwa 'a type of sweet cassava'
11. ìwūwa (Gerundial Infinitive) 'to actually slice'
- (b) ìwūwa (Ger. Inf., Emphatic)
12. xīwàghīìwà
13. ọwa 'torch of strips of bamboo'
14. ọwā ++ (agentive) 'slicer'
15. ọwà ++ (agentive; present/future time sense) 'slicer'
16. ọwàrà ++ (agentive; past time sense) 'slicer'
17. ọwàà (agentive; habitual sense) 'slicer' (bad sense)
18. ọwāwāà 'a great slice'
19. ọwàọwāà (agentive) 'one who indulges in slicing'
20. ọwakota (= mwakota) 'slicing together'
- 21 (a) ọwūwa (Gerund) 'slicing'
- (b) ọwūwa (Gerund: Emphatic)
22. ọwamọọwa (agentive) 'great slicer', 'expert slicer'
23. ọwāra 'strip of bamboo'
24. mwa (Simple Participle) '(fact/act of) slicing'
- 25 (a) mwa (instrumental) 'slicer', 'splitter', 'axe'
- (b) mwa 'act of slicing' (emphatic)
26. xmwā
27. mwāà 'indulgence in slicing'

28. ñwàámwàà 'habit of slicing'; 'over-slicing'; 'too many things to slice'
29. ñwam ++ (~ñwàm) 'fact/possibility of slicing'
30. xñwamñwà
31. ñwàmñwà 'habitual/frequent acts of slicing (bad sense)
32. ñwàmwa 'act of slicing'; 'thing to slice'
33. ñwüwa (instrumental) 'slicer', 'splitter', 'axe', etc.
34. ñwüwa (i) as in 33  
(ii) variant of ñwüwa, 11b.
35. ñwàràñwà 'a sliced/split object'; as adj. 'sliced/split'
36. mwara (S.Part. + Suff. Benefactive) 'portion sliced off for oneself'
37. xmwāra
38. üwa 'process of slicing'; 'echo'
39. ?xüwà
40. xüwa
41. üwārā 'course' (e.g. of flood); 'path'; 'lane'
42. xüwàghüwà
- (2) ichā 'to ripen'; 'to be/become white/clean'; 'to be/become coloured/light-coloured'
1. xacha
2. xachām
3. àchām ++ 'fact/possibility of ripening'
4. achamacha 'capable of ripening'; 'process of ripening'
5. achamāàchà 'types of ripening'; 'variety of ripe things'
6. achicha (Aorist Part.) 'capable of ripening'

7. achìcha 'ripening' (bad sense); 'insanity'
8. àchàghaàchà 'over-ripeness'
9. ìchā (Simple Infinitive) 'to ripen'
10. ìcha (okhē ìcha) 'male lizard'
- 11 (a) ìchìcha (Gerundial Inf.) 'to actually ripen';  
'insanity'
- (b) ìchìcha (Ger. Inf., Emphatic)
12. xìchàghìchà
13. ọcha (Adj.) 'white'; 'light-coloured'
- 14.(a) ọcha (a dialect for ùcha, 38 below)
- (b) ọcha (i) (stative) 'something is/becomes ripe/etc.'  
(ii) (active) 'something that cleans/whitens, etc.'
15. ọchà ++ (stative/active) as in 14b (e.g. ọchànjà 'a small oil lamp')
16. ọchàrà ++ (stative/active; past time meaning) 'something that ripened/cleaned/whitened, etc.'
17. ọchàà 'being ripe/making ripe' (bad sense)
18. ọchàchàà 'beautifully ripe'; 'brilliant cleanness/whiteness'
19. xọchàọchàà
20. ọchakọta (=nchakọta) 'ripening together'
- 21.(a) ọchìcha (Gerund) (i) 'ripening'; (ii) 'cockroach'
- (b) ọchìcha (Gerund; Emphatic)
22. ọchamọọcha 'exquisite ripeness/whiteness'
23. xọchāra
24. ncha (Simple Part.) '(fact/process of) ripening'

25. òcha 'something that ripens/cleans/whitens'
26. xòchà
27. ?xòchaa
28. ?xòchaañchaa
29. òcham ++ 'fact/possibility of ripening'
30. xòchamòcha
31. òchamòchà 'nondescript ripening'
32. òchànòcha 'insanity', 'madness'
33. òchìcha 'leprosy'
34. òchìcha (=ìchìcha)
35. òchàràòcha (as Adj.) 'ripened/ripe'
36. nchara (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'becoming ripe/white'
37. nchāra 'terracota', 'brownish-red earth'
38. ùcha 'colour'; 'process of becoming' ripe/clean/etc';  
'whiteness'
39. xùchà
40. xùcha
41. xùcharā
42. ùchàghùchà 'excessive colour/ripeness'
- (3) ilē 'to look'
1. ele 'antelope'
2. ?xelem
3. èlem ++ 'fact/possibility of looking'
4. elemèle 'capable of being looked at'; 'looking'; 'scene';  
'spectacle'
5. elemēlè 'variety of things to view'

6. elile (Aorist Part.) 'worth looking at'; 'watching';  
'thing worth watching'
7. elîle 'looking at' (bad sense)
8. èlègheèlè 'amazing sight'
9. ìlē (Simple Inf.) 'to look'
10. xîle
- 11.(a) ìlile (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually look'  
(b) ìlîle (Ger.Inf.) (Emphatic)
12. xîlèghiîlè
13. xole
- 14 (a) òle (agentive) 'looker'  
(b) òle 'some'  
(c) òle (in interrogative sent.) (=òlekè) 'which?/what?'
15. òlè ++ (agentive) 'looker' (bad sense)
16. òlèrè ++ (agentive: past tense sense) 'looker' (bad sense)
- 17 (a) òleè (agent.) 'habitual/frequent looker' (bad sense)  
(b) òleè/òleē (~ èleè) 'where is?'; 'what/which?'
18. òlèleè 'a great spectacle'
19. òlèòleè 'inveterate looker'; 'inquisitive person'
20. òlekòta 'familiar behaviour towards another' (=nlekòta)
- 21.(a) òlile (Gerund) 'looking' (e.g. òlileanya 'hope/expectation')  
(b) òlîle (Gerund); (Emphatic)
- 22 (a) xòlemòòle 'great looker'; 'discoverer'  
(b) òlemòòle 'some'; 'few'
23. xolère

24. nle (Simple Part.) '(fact/act of) looking'
25. x̣nle
26. x̣nlè
27. n̄lèè 'indulgence in looking'
28. n̄lèèñlèè 'habitual/too frequent looking at things';  
'inquisitiveness'
29. n̄lem ++ (~ n̄lèm) 'fact/possibility of looking'
30. x̣n̄lèm̄nle
31. n̄lèm̄n̄lè 'habitual<sup>of</sup> looking' (bad sense)
32. n̄lènle 'act of looking'; 'thing to look at'
33. n̄lile (=ìlile)
34. n̄l̄ile (=ìl̄ile)
35. n̄lèrè̄nle 'thing viewed/watched'
36. nlere (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'viewing/watching things'
37. x̣nl̄ere
38. ùle 'test', 'examination', 'temptation'
39. x̣ùlè
40. ?ule e.g. Ụm̄ùl̄ē (name of village in Ụm̄ùahyà)
41. x̣ulerē
42. x̣ùlèghuùlè
- (4) irī 'to eat'
- 1 (a) èri (as adj.) 'plentiful'
- (b) èri 'thread' ('something eaten away/slender')
2. erim̄ 'blood-relation/relationship'
3. èrim̄ ++ 'fact/possibility of eating'
4. erimeri 'eatable/edible'; 'thing to eat/food'

5. erĩēēri 'variety of eatable things'
- 6 (a) eriri (Aorist Part.) 'fit to eat/eidble'  
(b) eriri 'string', 'rope'
7. eriri 'gluttony'; 'greed for food'
8. xerĩgheēri
9. irĩ (S.Inf.) 'to eat'
10. xiri
- 11 (a) ĩriri (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually eat'  
(b) ĩriri (Ger.Inf.; emphatic)
12. ?ĩrĩghiĩri
13. xori
14. òri (agentive) 'eater'
15. òrĩ ++ (agent.) 'eater' (bad sense)
16. òrĩrĩ ++ (agen.; past time sense) 'eater'
17. òriĩ (agen.) 'habitual/frequent eater' (bad sense)
18. xorĩriĩ
19. òrĩòriĩ (agen.) 'one who indulges in eating'; 'cheat'
20. orikota 'a rite reconciling enemies through their eating together'
- 21 (a) òriri (Gerund) (i) 'eating'; (ii) 'feast/banquet'  
(b) òrĩri (Gerund; emphatic)
22. òrimòori 'great eater', 'one with a great appetite'
23. xorĩri
24. nri (S.Part.) (i) '(fact/act of) eating'; (ii) 'food'
25. ñri 'pest', 'parasite', 'something that destroys by eating something else'



26. ɛ̀nri`
27. ̀nrii` 'indulgence in eating'
28. ̀nriĩnrii` 'frequent eating/eating of any and everything'  
(bad sense)
29. ̀nrim ++ 'fact/possibility of eating' .
30. ̀nrim̀nri` 'a parasite'; 'ring-worm'
31. ̀nrim̀nri` 'malignant parasite'; propensity to eating',  
'greed'
32. ̀nrĩnri` 'habitual eating'; 'eatables'
33. ̀nriri (=ĩriri)
34. ̀nrirĩ (=ĩrirĩ)
35. ̀nrirĩnri (as adj.) 'eaten/devoured'
36. ̀nriri (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'act of participating  
in eating'
37. \*ɛ̀nriri
38. ̀uri` 'process of eating away something', 'part of a thing  
which has been eaten away', 'mark left as a result of  
eating away'
39. ̀uri` 'body-painting (women)'; 'material for body-painting'
40. uri` 'dance'
41. ɛ̀urirĩ
42. ɛ̀urighuurĩ
- (5) ife 'to fly/fan/blow/shower'
1. ɛ̀efe
2. ɛ̀efem̀
3. ̀efem ++ 'fact/possibility of flying/etc.'

4. efemefe 'capable of being flown'; 'act of flying'
5. efemēēfē 'variety of flying things'
- 5A. efere 'plate (enamel, china)' (i.e. 'light material')
- 5B. ēfere 'lightness'
6. efufe (Aorist Part.) 'capable of being flown'
7. efufe 'flying' (bad sense)
8. èfègheèfè 'excessive lightness'; 'thing that is excessively light or unstable/wobbly'
9. ifē (S.Inf.) 'to fly'
10. \*ife
- 11(a) ifufe (Ger.Inf.) (i) 'to actually fly'; (ii) 'wind'
- (b) ifufe (Ger.Inf.; emphatic)
12. \*ifèghiifè
13. ofe 'soup' (i.e. 'light liquid')
14. òfe ++ (agen.) 'flier'
15. òfè (agen; present time sense) 'flier'
16. òfèè<sup>++</sup> (agen; past time sense) 'flier'
17. òfèè (agen; habitual/frequent) 'flier' (bad sense)
18. òfèfèè 'a great flight'
19. òfèèòfèè (agen.) 'one who indulges in flying'
20. ofekōta (=mfekōta) 'flying together'; 'jamming in flight'
- 21 (a) òfufe (Gerund) 'flying'
- (b) òfufe (Gerund; emphatic)
22. òfemòòfe 'great flier'
23. \*ofēre

24. mfe (Simple Part.) '(fact/act of) flying'
- 25.(a) mfe 'fan/bellows'
- (b) mfe (as adj.) 'light', 'easy'
- (c) mfe (S.Part., emphatic)
26. mfe
27. mfeè 'indulgence in flying'
28. mfeēmfeè 'habit of flying'
29. mfem ++ 'fact/possibility of flying'
30. mfem̄mfe
31. mfēm̄mfe 'habitual/frequent acts of flying' (bad sense)
32. mfēm̄fe 'frequent acts of flying'
33. mfufe 'fan'
34. mfufe 'fan'
35. mfèrēmfe (as adj.) 'flown/fanned'
36. mfere (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'to obtain by fanning/  
blowing'
37. mfēre
38. ufe<sup>re</sup> 'act of flying', 'flight'
39. xufe
40. xufe
41. xufere
42. ufèghuufe 'great act of flying', 'great flight'
43. ufèrè 'wind', 'storm'
- (6) idi 'to be'
1. xadi
2. xadim̄

3. àdīm ++ 'fact/possibility of being'
4. adīmadi 'capable of existing/being'; 'process of being'
5. adīmāadi 'variety of existing things'
6. adidi 'capable of being/becoming'
7. adidi 'existence'/'character' (bad sense)
8. xadighaadi
9. idī (S.Inf.) 'to be'
10. xidi
- 11 (a) ididi (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually be/become'
- (b) ididi (Ger.Inf.) (emphatic)
12. xidighidi
13. xodi
14. odi ++ (agen.) 'one who is/becomes'
15. odi ++ (e.g. odimmā 'welfare'; 'odin'ihnu 'the future')
16. odiri ++ (agen: past time sense) 'one who was/became'
17. odi (agen.) 'one who is/becomes', 'character' (bad sense)
18. xodidi
19. odiodi 'one who indulges in being a bad character'
20. odikota (=ndikota) 'reconciliation'; 'unity'
- 21 (a) odidi (Gerund) 'being', 'becoming'
- (b) odidi 'character', 'form', 'appearance'
22. odimodi 'expert in being/becoming'
23. xodiri
- 24 (a) ndi (S.Participle) 'fact of being/act of becoming'
- (b) ndi (Plural pro-form) 'persons/things'
25. ndi 'some (of people)'

26. ñdì ++ (e.g. ñdìn'àhu 'parts of the body'; ñdìn'áznu 'past things'; ñdìn'ihnu 'things in the future')
27. ñdìì (=ñdìì) (Interrogative) 'which?/what?'; 'where is?'
28. ñdììñdìì 'habitual being /becoming'
29. ñdìim ++ 'fact/possibility of being/becoming'
30. xñdìimñdìì
31. ñdìimñdìì 'persisting bad character'; 'persisting in being a bad character'
32. ?xñdìimñdìì
33. ñdìdì (=ìdìdì)
34. ñdìdì (=ìdìdì)
35. ñdìrìñdìì 'being/becoming as accomplished fact'
36. ñdìrì (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'fact of becoming'
37. xñdìrì
38. ùdì 'form', 'appearance', 'shape', 'likeness'
39. xùdì
40. xùdì
41. xùdìrì
42. xùdìghùdì

For the following three verbs (class I), only the forms which do not occur are indicated, and by number; and also those forms which occur but have specialized meanings, or add specialized meanings to their ordinary meanings, are given in full. The verbs are: igā 'to go'; ibya 'to come'; ithī 'to elongate/stretch/grow tall/long'

(7) igā 'to go'

The following forms do not occur: 1,2,8,10,12,13,23,25, 27,30,29,40 and ?42.

The following forms have specialized meanings:

- 18. ògàgàà 'wanderer'; 'traveller'; 'foreigner'
- 26. ngà 'place' (i.e. 'place gone/come to, destination')
- 38. ùga 'going'; 'departure'; 'passage way', 'course';  
'free motion'

(8) ibya 'to come'

The following do not occur: 1,2,10,12,12,23,25,26,30,37, 39 to 42.

The following have specialized meanings:

- 17 (a) òbyaà 'habitual/frequent comer' (bad sense)
- (b) òbyaà develops into òbhià 'visitor', 'guest'
- 32. mbyàmbya 'frequent/habitual coming'; 'visitor'
- 35. mbyaràmbya 'guest', 'visitor', 'nonresident'
- 38. ùbya 'coming'; 'arrival'; 'diarrhoea'

(9) ithi 'to elongate'

The following forms do not occur: 1,2,8,10,18,23,30,37, 39 to 41; and in place of 8,8b occurs: athighithi.

The following forms have special meanings:

- 13. ọthi 'process of elongating'; 'height/length'
- 32. nthìnthi 'elongating'; 'habit of making long' (e.g.  
nthìnthi òkù 'habit of not promptly responding to an  
invitation'
- 33. nthìthi 'thing that elongates another'; 'stretcher'

Only two class II verbs are set out in full. They are

not tonally comparable with class I verbs as far as the forms derived from them are concerned, but the processes of derivation are the same as for class I verbs, and form the basis for the numbering of the items.

Class II Verbs:

(10) izù 'to meet'

1. ɛ̀zù

2. ɛ̀zùm

3. èzùm ++ 'fact/possibility of meeting'

4. èzùmèzù 'capable of being met'; 'meeting'

5. èzùmèèzù (i) 'a variety of things coming together'

(ii) 'an assembly of people'

(iii) 'a place where things/people meet'

6. ezùzù (Aorist Participle) 'fit to meet'; 'capable of being met'

7.  $\emptyset$

8. èzùgheèzù 'a large number of things/people met together'

9 (a) izù (Simple Inf.) 'to meet'

(b) izù 'week'

10.  $\emptyset$

11.(a) izùzù (Gerundial Inf.) 'to actually meet'

(b) izùzù 'meeting for secret consultation', 'consultation in camera'

12. ɛ̀izùghizù

13. òzù 'meeting place' (e.g. Òzu Ìthè̀m̀, Òzu Àkòlì - two separate communities in Umuahya Province)

14. òzù ++ (agentive) 'one who meets'
15. òzù ++ (agen., present time sense) 'one who meets'
16. òzùrù ++ (agen. past time sense) 'one who met'
17. òzuù (agen.) 'one who habitually/frequently meets' (bad sense)
- 17A. òzùgbò (= òzùzù) (Prenominal Adj.) 'all'
18. ɣòzùzuù
19. òzùòzuù (agen.) 'one who indulges in meeting others'
20. ozùkòta (= nzùkòta) 'meeting together', 'place of meeting together'
21. òzùzù (Gerund) 'meeting'; (used as in 17A)
22. òzùmoòzù 'one who has a zest for meeting people'
23. ∅
24. nzù (Simple Participle) '(Fact/act of) meeting'
25. ɣnzù
26. ɣnzu
27. òzuù 'frequent act of meeting' (bad sense)
28. òzùuñzuù 'habit of meeting' (bad sense)
29. òzùm ++ 'fact/possibility of meeting'
30. ɣnzùmñzù
31. òzùmñzù 'act of meeting'; 'thing met'
32. òzùnzù 'frequent meeting' (bad sense)
33. ɣnzùzù (= òzùzù)
34. ∅
35. ɣnzùrùnzù 'something that completes/meets the full quota'
36. nzùru (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'to meet on one's



behalf'

37. Ø

38. ʊzu 'point/date of meeting'

39. xuzu

40. Ø

41. Ø

42. Ø

(11) ikò 'to scoop/dig/plant'

1. xàkò

2. xàkòm

3. àkòm ++ 'fact/possibility of digging/etc.'

4. akòmàkò 'capable of being dug/planted'; 'thing dug/  
planted' (pits, crops)

5. xàkòmaàkò

6 (a) akùkò (Aorist Participle) 'fit to dig/etc'

(b) akùkò 'shell used for scooping out'

7. Ø

8. àkòghaàkò 'indifferent sort of digging'

9. ikò (S.Inf.) 'to dig'

10. Ø

11. ikùkò (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually dig'

12. xikòghìikò

13. Ø

14. òkò ++ (agen.) 'digger'

15. òkò ++ (agen., present time sense) 'one who digs/is  
digging'

16. ọkọrọ ++ (agen., past time meaning) 'one who dug'
17. ọkọọ (agen.) 'habitual/frequent digger' (bad sense)
18. ọkọkọọ 'amazing type of digging'
19. ọkọọkọọ (agen.) 'one who indulges in digging'; 'expert in digging'
20. ọkọkọta (=nkọkọta) 'digging together'
21. ọkùkọ (Gerund) 'digging'; 'a dug place'
22. ọkọmọọkọ 'a great digger'
23. Ø
24. nkọ (S.Part.) '(fact/act of) digging'
25. ñkọ (instrument) 'digger'
26. ɛnkọ
27. ñkọọ 'frequent digging' (bad sense)
28. ñkọọñkọọ 'habit of digging' (bad sense)
29. ñkọm ++ 'fact/possibility of digging'
30. ɛñkọmñkọ
31. ñkọmñkọ 'frequent digging' (bad sense)
32. ñkọnkọ (same as (31))
33. ñkùkọ (= ìkùkọ)
34. Ø
35. ñkọrọñkọ 'something dug'
36. nkọrọ (S.Part. + Suff. Benefactive) 'to dig on one's behalf'
37. Ø
38. ụkọ 'time of digging'; 'process of digging'
39. ɛụkọ

40. ø

41. ʊkɔ̌rɔ̌ 'line/course of digging'

42. ʊkɔ̌ghyʊkɔ̌ 'digging not done properly'

DN.4. Suffixes occurring in derived items

Suffixes which occur as formatives in derived items still retain their grammatical meanings, if grammatical suffixes, and their semantic meanings, if lexical suffixes. And they do this inspite of their having to undergo phonologically determined changes in their vowels, where necessary. Thus the Aspect suffix -A/E retains its sense though it is consistently assimilated to the preceding vowel, as in numbers 17, 18, 19, 27, and 28 in the lists. Compare this with Aspect, As.8.10, p. 163. Similarly, the past tense -rA/E (as in 16, 35) and the Case suffix -rA/E (as in 36, 41) are characteristically assimilated, but they add their grammatical meanings to the derived item.

This ability of suffixes to occur in the derived items applies to the derivation of Adjectives and Adverbs as well as to nouns.

The derivation of Adjectives are discussed next.

CHAP. 15Derived AdjectivesDA.1. Forms of Derived Adjectives

Derived adjectives have many forms. Some are derived directly from verb roots (Simplex or Complex), and some are derived from verb-derived noun forms. The derivation of each type may involve affixation with or without the processes of duplication, reduplication, or triplication. Some other types are derived transformationally from Verb-Phrases (as in Forms 25 to 27 in the lists below in DA.3.)

The regular formations are illustrated in DA.2. with four verbs: three class I verbs, and one class II verb, whose vowels represent the vowel system i/i, e/a, o/o, and u/u. The difference between adjectives derived from class I verbs and those derived from class II lies in their tones; but in some forms there is no such difference (as in Forms 11-13, 15-16 in the lists).

The four verbs used in the demonstration are ibī, ifē, ico, and isū.

There are derived adjectives which are restricted to certain types of verbs. These are separately given later in Form I.

DA.2. Examples of regular adjectival derivations

The sign + before an item means that it is derived from a compound verb. Starred numbers indicate forms that may be used as nouns also; and starred forms represent forms which are not in use.

- (1) ibī 'to stretch stiffly', 'to lean upon'
1. bim 'straight and stiff' (with sense of finality)
  2. bim bim 'straight and stiff' (with sense of length/motion/intensity)
  3. +bikhem 'straight, stiff and strong' (with sense of finality/intensity)
  4. +~~xbim~~khem
  - 5.(a) biribiri 'generally straight and stiff' (= birii (7a))  
 (b) bikhebikhe 'rather straight and stiff'; 'of arrogant stance'
  6. ?~~xbii~~
  - 7.(a) birii 'straight and stiff throughout'/'all straight and stiff'  
 (b) +bikee 'straight and stiff and strong throughout'
  8. bibibi 'straight and stiff' (with sense of elongation/movement)
  9. bibiriri 'straight and stiff and extending'; 'straight, still and long'
  - 10.\*~~ebibi~~ 'capable of being stiffened up'
  11. ebibiri 'having a straight and stiff appearance'
  - 12.(a) ebighibi 'excessively straight and stiff'  
 (b) ebiribi 'having a rather straight and stiff appearance'
  13. ~~ebighibi~~
  - 14.\* ~~ebimebi~~ 'having possibility of being held straight and stiff'
  15. èbirìèbi 'stiffened' (e.g. of the arm) (= m̀birìmbi)

- 16.(a) ebiriri 'straight and stiff' (of a number of objects)  
 (b) +ebig'ara 'imposing'
- 17.(a) ibiribi 'tending toward being straight and stiff'  
 (b) ibighibi 'tending towards being rather straight and stiff'
- 18.(a) obiribi 'straight and stiff like a lance'; 'stately' (obi'lance')  
 (b) obighibi 'rather lance-like'; 'rather stately'
- 19.(a) ✕ obighoobi  
 (b) ✕ obiroobi
- 20.(a) ✕ ubiribi  
 (b) ubighibi 'rather like a ladder' (ùbìbi 'ladder')
21. ✕ ubighuubi
22. mbimbi 'somewhat stiff'
23. mbirimbi 'leaning' (e.g. Tower of Pisa)
24. bìrìbìrì 'of things leaning all round an area'
25. ebīebi (ebīghiebi (emph.)) 'cannot be stiffened up/leaned up'
- (ii) ifē 'to fly/blow'; 'to ease off'
1. fem 'quite light' (weight); 'easy' (with sense of precision)
2. femfem 'very light/easy'
3. +fekhem 'light and firm'
4. +fekhemfekhem 'light and firm' (repetitive, or of more than one thing)
- 5.(a) ferefere 'rather light/easy'

- (b) +fekhefekhe 'light and firm'
6. fee 'exerting no weight', 'very light'
- 7.(a) ferii 'extremely light'; 'gentle' (e.g. wind)
- (b) +fewhnoo 'blown clear and clean'; 'very clear' (iwhnō  
'to become clear, have light')
8. fufefe 'blowy'; 'of continuous flying motion'
9. fuferere 'having pervading lightness'
- 10\* efufe 'capable of being blown'; 'capable of easing off'
11. efufere 'rather blowy/light'; 'flimzy'
- 12.(a) \* efeghife
- (b) \* eferife
13. efegheefe 'very blowy/light'
- 14\* efemefe 'capable of being blown'
15. èfèrèèfe (=m̀fèrè̀m̀fe) 'blown'
- 16.(a) eferiri 'blowing about'; 'rather light'
- (b) + efekhere 'rather light and firm'
- 17.(a) \* ifeghiife
- (b) iferiife 'being of small light pieces'
- 18.(a) \* ofeghife
- (b) \* oferife
- 19.(a) \* ofeghoofe
- (b) \* oferoofe
- 20.(a) ufeghufe (contracted form of 21)
- (b) \* uferufe
21. ufeghuufe 'extremely light/liable to blow about'
22. mfemfe 'light/easy'

23. mferemfe 'light'
24. fèrèfèrè 'blown/flowed right round'
25. efēefe (efēghiefe (emph.)) 'cannot fly/be blown/ease off'
- (iii) icō 'to grow high/tall'
1. com 'high/tall' (with sense of finality/precision)
  2. comcom 'high/tall' (with sense of progress)
  3. +codum 'full-grown' (idū 'to be complete')
  4. +codumcodum 'full-grown' (of each stage of process/of many things)
  - 5.(a) corocoro 'rather luxuriant growing'
  - (b) +cokhecokhe 'of about medium height' (ikhè 'to stand fixed')
  6. coo 'very high/tall' (with sense of vague limit)
  - 7.(a) corii 'extensively high/tall'
  - (b) \*+co...
  8. cucoco 'high/tall and still extending'
  9. cucororo 'having extensive height'
  - 10.\* \* ecuco 'capable of growing tall/becoming high'
  11. ecucoro 'rather tall/high' (critical sense)
  - 12.(a) \* ecoghico
  - (b) \* ecorico
  13. \* ecogheeco
  - 14.\* \* ecomeco 'having possibility of growth'
  15. ècòròèco 'grown up/high' (= òcòròhco)
  - 16.(a) ecoriri 'rather luxuriant in growth'
  - (b) ?\*+ co....



- 17.(a) ✕ icoghico  
(b) ✕ icorico
- 18.(a) ✕ ocorico  
(b) ✕ ocoghico
- 19.(a) ocoghooco 'grown excessively high/tall'  
(b) ocorooco 'having appearance of having grown too high/tall'
- 20.(a) ✕ ucoruco  
(b) ✕ ucoghuco (= 21)
21. ucoghuuco 'tending to overgrow'
22. neonco 'fast-growing high/tall'
23. ncoronco 'having tendency to grow fast'
24. còròcorò 'of an area surrounded by grown things'
25. ecōeco (ecōghieco (emph.)) 'never growing up/high'
- (iv) isù 'to contract/shrink/draw back'
1. sùm 'quite shrunk'
2. sùmsùm 'very shrunk'
3. +sùkòm 'seated in a careless manner' (of person)
4. + sùkòm sùkòm 'seated carelessly' (of many persons) (ikò  
'to lie in a mass (of wet thing)')
- 5.(a) sùrùsùrù 'liable to shrink'; 'rather shrunk'  
(b) +sùlìsùlì 'woolly'; 'spongy'
6. sùù 'shrinking'; 'soft and yielding'
- 7.(a) sùrìì 'very soft and yielding'  
(b) sùlìì 'very woolly'
8. sùsùsù 'continuously shrinking'; 'contracting';

'retracting'

9. sùsùrùrù 'extremely shrunk'

10\* ✕ asùsù 'shrinkable'

11. asùsùrù 'rather shrunk', 'liable to shrink'

12.(a) asùghùsù 'ragged'; 'over-shrunk'; 'tattered'

(b) ✕ asùrùsù

13. ✕ asùghaasù

14\* ✕ asùmàsù 'having possibility of being shrunk'

15. àsùrùàsù 'shrunk'

16.(a) asùrùrù 'much shrunk', 'much ragged'

(b) +asùkwùrù 'rather contracted' (ikwù 'to put a stopper on')

17.(a) ✕ isùghùsù

(b) ✕ isùrùsù

18.(a) ✕ osùghùsù

(b) ✕ osùrùsù

19.(a) ✕ osùghùsù

(b) ✕ osùrùsù

20.(a) usùghùsù 'extremely ragged'; 'very untidy'

(b) usùrùsù 'very liable to shrink'; 'very woolly'

21.(a) usùghùsù (contracted form of 20a)

(b) usùrùsù (contracted form of 20b)

22. nsùnsù 'shrunk'; 'having shrinking characteristics'

23. nsùrùnsù 'shrunk', 'contracted'

24. sùrùsùrù 'shrunk all round', 'winding round and round'

25. asùàsù/asùasù (asùghùasù (emph.)) 'unshrinking'

DA.3. Morphological Classification of Derived Adjectives

The various types of forms, as exemplified through the four verbs, are arranged into morphological classes below. Other types of forms which are not regularly derivable from any type of verb but are restricted to certain verbs are also included in the classification. The numbering of the types is not significant. Each morphological type is termed a Form. The syntactic characteristics of the Forms will be discussed later below, p. 44/F. )

(1) Form 1

The structure of this type of adjectives is as follows:

Prefix  $\begin{Bmatrix} O \\ U \end{Bmatrix}$  + Verb Root (Simplex) + (Suffix)  $\begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ A/O \end{Bmatrix}$

There are only nine items in this Form. They are:

- (1) ɔ̌hnuɔ̌ 'new', 'recent', 'fresh' (? ɪhn̄ 'to see')
- (2) ochiè 'old', 'ancient', 'antiquated' (ichī 'to close/be closed')
- (3) ojiē 'black', 'dark-coloured' (ijī 'to be/become dark/black')
- (4) ɔ̌jɔ̌ɔ̌ 'bad', 'ugly' (ijō 'to be/become dry')
- (5) ɔ̌kpɔ̌ɔ̌ 'dry' (ikpō 'to be/become dry')
- (6) ɔ̌cha 'white', 'light-coloured' (ichā 'to be/become clean, white', 'to ripen')
- (7) ɔ̌ma 'good', 'beautiful', 'nice' (imā 'to be/become good, etc.')
- (8) ukwu 'large', 'enormous'

(9) ukwu 'big', 'great'

With the exception of (5) ọkpọọ (which has not been recorded anywhere else before) and (8) ukwu, the items listed above make up the complete list of adjectives in Igbo as far as a number of writers on the language are concerned. However, Dr. Ida C. Ward<sup>1</sup> recognizes twenty-six items, including those accepted by others, in addition to what she calls 'Demonstrative Adjectives' and 'Indefinite Adjectives of Quantity'. The items she lists fall into various morphological types, according to the present analysis.

In terms of their composition, the items (1) to (9) fall into two sub-types: ohnuo, ochiè, ojiè, ọjọo, ọkpọo and ukwu which have vowel suffixes; and ocha, oma, and ukwu, which have no suffix. Of the first subtype, two items ochiè and ukwu take low tones on the final syllable, while the others take mid-tones.

The low-tone of the ochiè and ukwu may be explained as a manifestation of the phenomenon in Igbo whereby, quite often, mid-tones become low-tones if they occur in final positions in words, as in the following examples:

(10) nwokhē (nwaokhē) : nwokhè 'man'

(11) enugū (eluughwhū) : enugù (eluughwhù) 'hill-top';  
Enugù Town

(12) ọfisī (ọfaisī) : ọfisì (ọfaisì) 'head-scarf'

(13) akhūihynē : akhūihynè 'melon seed'

The final vowel of ukwu differs from those of the other

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1. I.C. Ward: *op.cit.* pp.43-50.

four items in the group by being a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable. But this is not unusual, for in some dialects (and in some written materials) we do get ohnuū and ojiī in place of ohnuō and ojiē, respectively. And ohnuō has variant forms too - ohnurū, ofuū. However, in the forms in which they are presented here the vowel suffixes represent the 'Intensive' Aspect suffix. This means that we have in these items verb roots which have been inflected aspectually, and then inflected for the derivation of adjectives, the latter being achieved by prefixation. Derivation by prefixation is similar to <sup>the</sup> process of deriving nouns from verbs. The difference comes in the tone of the prefixes and in the vowel suffix. For whereas in the case of nouns the prefix has a low-tone, in the case of the adjectives it has a high-tone while the suffix takes a mid-tone (or low tone, as explained above). Thus we get, for instance,

(14) òjie 'Someone/something which becomes black'

(15) òjjo 'Someone/something which becomes bad'

The absence of a vowel suffix in ocha, oma and ukwu may be explained in one of two ways: either by saying that the derivation of the adjective is not preceded by an aspectual inflection of the verb roots; or by saying that such inflection took place but that in the process of use the forms have become abbreviated. Cases of such abbreviations exist in the language, as in the cases of (10) to (12) above, and in (16) where the word has been wholly transformed by assimilation and

abbreviation.

(16) ̀̀sɔ̀kwhu : ̀̀sekwhū : /̀̀sekwhū/ 'kitchen'

Similarly, (17) represents the abbreviated form ag'ɔ̀ 'hunger' and is in use in some dialects:

(17) agɔ̀ 'hunger'

However the lack of a suffix in each of these items may be ultimately explained, the fact is that they are now used without one.

The verbs underlying ɔ̀hnuɔ̀ 'new' and ɔ̀chiɛ 'old' are given above as ihnu 'to see' and ichi 'to close' by deductions from their semantic suggestions. With ukwu and ukwuɔ̀ however, it is more difficult to suggest a verb.

(ii) Form 2

The structure of the items in Form 2 is as follows:

Verb Root (Simplex) + Suffix (-m)

Items derived from class I verbs have high-tones throughout, and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones. Such items have, as part of their meanings, the sense of 'precision', 'exactness' or 'finality' which may be brought out in English by the word 'quite' followed by an adjective. The process of derivation is productive.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) g'am 'precise', 'exact' (ig'ā 'to split vertically)
- (2) gom 'clear', 'eloquent' (igōt 'to sound loud and clear')
- (3) snam 'clear', 'clean', 'attractive' (isnā 'to wash')
- (4) snum 'upright', 'tall', 'erect' (isnū 'to cut with

vertical stroke and sharply')

- (5) sèm 'brief', 'brisk', 'with minimum time' (isè 'to tug/pull')
- (6) snèm 'clean', 'fine', 'neat' (isnè 'to cut neatly', 'to mince/chop up')
- (7) snùm 'shallow' (isnù 'to come to a dead end')
- (8) kwèm 'straight', 'straight forward', 'direct' (ikwè 'to run on a runner')

Items of this morphological type are regularly formed from verbs which imply 'action', or 'process'. They are more frequently used in the Verb Phrase as 'resultative attributive'<sup>1</sup> elements than as adjuncts in the Noun Phrase, as in (9) and (10). And they are also used as adverbs, as in (11) and (12).

- (9) Nkwû còrò /snùm./ 'The palm-tree grew quite straight'.
- (10) Uzò dî /kwèm./ 'The road is dead straight.'
- (11) Kwùò yā /sèm./ 'Say it briefly'.
- (12) Ọ byàrà /kwèm./ 'He came straight.'

The items derived as stated above can be duplicated in use. When thus duplicated, the duplication implies either the extension of the quality throughout the whole of the object represented by the noun being qualified, or indicates that more than one object have the quality referred to, thus indicating plurality in the noun. Consider (13) and (14).

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Part 1, J.L. Vol.2, 1966, p. 64f.

- (13) Nkwû còrò /snumsnun/. (i) 'The palm-tree grew quite straight all the way.'  
 (ii) 'The palm-trees grew quite straight.'  
 (14) Ihnu yā<sup>^</sup>dī /snamsnam/. 'His face is clean throughout.'  
 (iii) Form 3

The structure of Form 3 items is as follows:

Verb Stem (Complex)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Verb Root+Verb Root} \\ \text{Verb Root + Suffix} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Suffix (-m)}$

The process is productive.

If a low-tone element occurs in the Verb Stem, the item will have low-tones throughout; but if no such element occurs, the item will have high-tones.

When the Verb Stem consists of Verb Root + Suffix, the suffix may be the derivational suffix -ri, or a lexical suffix (which, with the base constitutes a class III verb), as in (9) and (10).

The resulting item has the sense of 'precision' as those of Form2, the difference in the two Forms being the composition of the verb stem.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) basam 'flat and wide/open' (ibā 'to increase'; 'isā 'to unfold')  
 (2) fekhem 'light and stiff' (ifē 'to fly/blow'; ikhē 'to be firm')  
 (3) nyakhum 'sticky', 'adhesive' (inyā 'to plaster'; ikhū



'to scrape')

- (4) bɔrɪm 'weak', 'insubstantial' (ɪbɔ̃ 'to become weak';  
-rɪ (suff.))
- (5) gberim 'diminutive'; 'of low stature' (igbē 'to crawl';  
-rɪ (suff.))
- (6) sègbèm 'limp', 'loose-hanging' (isè 'to pull'; igbè 'to  
weaken')
- (7) fòpìm 'soggy', 'messy' (ifò 'to mash'; ìpì 'to squeeze')
- (8) sàkpùm 'low and spread-out' (isā 'to unfold'; ikpù 'to  
put over so as to cover')
- (9) rɔ̀tòm 'saturated', 'very wet', 'filthy' (irɔ̀tò 'to be  
full of liquid matter')
- (10) kòbòm 'big but empty', 'useless' (ikòbò 'to appear  
substantial but lack any substance')

(iv) Form 4

The structure of items of Form 4 is

Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + Suffix (-m) + Verb Root<sub>2</sub> + Suffix (-m)

The two verbs involved in the derivation of the items must imply some type of action or another. And either the first part of the item or its second part will have low-tones if a class II verb occurs there.

The first occurrence of -m is often pronounced homorganically with the following consonant, but in the examples given here this feature will be represented in bracketed items only.

Semantically, the items represent the qualities in a dramatized manner, the presence of the suffix -m giving the



assimilated to that of the preceding syllable). The suffix can also be a lexical suffix, if the verb is a class III verb.

The derived item has high-tones if it does not contain a class II element, verb or suffix, and low-tones if such an element is present.

The following examples, (1) to (4) have the suffix -rA/E

- (1) warawara 'narrow' (iwā 'to split, crack')
- (2) ferefere 'light', 'easy' (ifē 'to fly/blow')
- (3) kpùrùkpùrù 'blunt', 'rounded' (ìkpù 'to become blunt/dull')
- (4) kwèrèkwèrè 'straight', 'without impediment' (ikwè 'to run')

In (5) to (8) the suffix -rI occurs.

- (5) kòrìkòrì 'dryish', 'fine' (of weather) (ìkò 'to dry (up)')
- (6) feriferi 'very light', 'flapping', 'apt to blow about' (ifē 'to fly/blow')
- (7) bhyàrìbhyàrì 'soft', 'downy' (ìbhyà 'to press down')
- (8) bèrìbèrì 'tremulous', 'shaky', 'fragile' (ibè 'to perch')

In (9) to (12) the suffix -ghA/E occurs.

- (9) tughutughu 'voluminous', 'protruding' (itū 'to pin up')
- (10) thìghìthìghì 'lush', 'luzuriant in growth' (ìthì 'to elongate')
- (11) ryòghòryòghò 'oscillating', 'nodding' (iryò 'to bend downwards')
- (12) jàghàjàghà 'shattered', 'disorderly' (ìjà 'to open out/up')

In (13) and (14) class III verbs occur, the suffix being a lexical suffix.

(13) pètèpètè 'wet', 'soggy', 'muddy' (ipètè 'to make wet/soggy')

(14) kòtòkòtò 'massed up' (ikòtò 'to lie in a mass')

In (15) to (18) two verb roots are involved.

(15) dapedape 'slight' (in size) (idā 'to pare'; ipē 'to chip')

(16) nyakhunyakhy 'sticky' (inyā 'to plaster'; ikhū 'to scrape')

(17) sùlìsùlì 'spongy' (isù 'to contract'; ilì 'to resist')

(18) cākàcākà 'tattered' (icà 'to snip'; ikā 'to tear/be torn')

The process of derivation is productive.

(vi) Form 6

The items which come under Form 6 have the same structure as those in Form 5, but differ from the latter in tones. They are either high-low-high-low, or low-high-low-high. They have the first type of tone-structure if they are derived from class III verbs, or derived from verb stems composed of class I verb plus class II verb. And they have the second type of tone-structure if composed of class II verb plus class I verb or suffix.

Semantically, the items represent dramatized description, as the items which constitute Form 4, but without the sense of 'precision', 'exactness', or 'finality' of Form 4.

(1) to (8) are derived from class III verbs.

- (1) beriberì 'stupid', 'foolish' (ibērì 'to behave stupidly')
- (2) g'arìg'arì 'complicated', 'spidery' (ìg'arì 'to weave in a complicated way')
- (3) gorìgorì 'wandering', 'meandering', 'aimless' (ìgōrì 'to go from place to place without apparent purpose')
- (4) gharìgharì 'disorderly', 'lacking form' (ìghārì 'to do in a disorderly fashion')
- (5) righìrighì 'disorderly', 'undisciplined' (irìghì 'to behave in an uncontrolled manner')
- (6) nyokònyokò 'careless', 'stupid' (inyōkò 'to walk in a careless way', 'to stagger about')
- (7) rikìrikì 'excited', 'enthusiastic' (irìkì 'to behave in an excited manner')
- (8) folòfolò 'untidy', 'disordered' (ifōlò 'to do in an untidy way')

(9) to (11) are derived from class II verbs plus the suffix -rI 'Comitative'.

- (9) mùrìmùrì 'twinkling', 'flashing' (inù 'to shine' + -rI)
- (10) tùrìtùrì 'twinkling', 'flashing' (of very small light) (itù 'to pinch/peck' + -rI)
- (11) m̀r̀im̀r̀ì 'tiny', 'minute' (im̀ 'to pinch a little' + -rI)

(12) and (13) are derived from class I plus class II verbs, and (14) and (15) from class II plus class I verbs.

- (12) sòdhàsòdhà 'staggering', 'unsteady' (isò 'to hit with the dead end of an object'; idhà 'to fall')

- (13) duwhnàduwhnà 'effusive', 'enthusiastic' (idū 'to poke hard'; iwhnà 'to show excitement')
- (14) khòkpukhòkpu (humped', 'raised' (ikhò 'to rise', 'be inflated'; ikpū 'to go in/under')
- (15) tūfūtūfu 'restrained' (itū 'to pinch'; ifū 'to fold up')

The process of derivation is productive.

(vii) Form 7

The structure of the items which constitute Form 7 is:

D(verb Root<sub>1</sub> + Verb Root<sub>2</sub> + Suffix (-rA/E))

The items have high-tones throughout if composed of Class I elements. If a class II verb is involved, it occurs initially and has a low-tone, thus giving items which have low-tones only in the initial syllable of each unit of the duplicated form.

The suffix is the -rA/E 'Benefactive'.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) fūkpōrofūkpōro 'collapsible', 'frail', 'weak' (ifū 'to fold up'; ikpō 'to dry' + -rA/E)
- (2) waghara waghara 'rattling' (iwa 'to break up'; ighā 'to scatter about' + -rA/E)
- (3) kponwuryukponwuryu 'withered', 'withering', 'drooping' (ikpō 'to dry'; inwū 'to die/wither' + -rA/E)
- (4) tugberetugbere 'slow', 'lethargic', 'lazy' (itū 'to throw'; igbē 'to crawl' + -rA/E)
- (5) tūseretūserere 'slight', 'small', 'easy' (itū 'to pinch';

isē 'to lessen' + -rA/E)

- (6) vn̄kerekēvn̄kerekē 'friable', 'easily crumbled' (ivn̄ 'to hatch'; ikē 'to cut with a sharp-edged instrument'; + -rA/E)

The process of derivation is productive.

(viii) Form 8

The structure of items of Form 8 is as follows:

{Reduplicated Verb Root} + Reduplicated Suffix (-rA/E)  
 {Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + Verb Root<sub>2</sub>}

Items derived from reduplicated class I verbs have high-tones and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones. Items are not derivable from class III verbs which have mixed stems, that is stems made up of base and suffix. If an item is derived from a compound stem made up of class I and class II verbs, it will have low-tones, but if made up of class I verbs, it will have high-tones. The process of derivation is productive.

The items represent the quality being described as being extensive or intensive. To translate them accurately into English an adverb, such as 'extensively', 'greatly', 'intensely', 'very', etc., should be added.

Consider the following examples. (1) to (6) have reduplicated stems, and (7) to (10) have compound stems.

- (1) m̄m̄m̄r̄r̄r̄ 'extensively smooth/glossy' (im̄ 'to polish')  
 (2) w̄w̄w̄arara 'extensively narrow' (iw̄ 'to split')  
 (3) b̄h̄b̄hororo 'extensively humped' (ibh̄ 'to put (load) on

another')

- (4) sùsùrùrù 'greatly contracted' (isù 'to contract')
- (5) dhùdhùrùrù 'very heavy/thick' (idhù 'to <sup>be</sup>bunches of  
fruits (of palm-trees and plantain))
- (6) kpùkpùrùrù 'very blunt/blunted' (ikpù 'to be/become  
blunt')
- (7) gobiriri 'extensively tall' (igō z̄ḡ 'to sound forth';  
ibī 'to lean on/against')
- (8) gbehururu 'much bent' (igbē 'to crawl/crouch'; ihū 'to  
bend')
- (9) gòhyìrìrì 'very tepid' (igò 'to deviate'; ihyī 'to  
twist')
- (10) kwhènyìrìrì 'very stubborn'/'difficult' (ikwhē 'to tie  
taut'; inyī 'to be heavy/impossible')
- (ix) Form 9

Items which make up Form 9 have the structure

Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + {Verb Root<sub>2</sub>  
{Suffix} } + Suffix (vowel)

The final vowel in each item is a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Each item of this Form has the additional sense of extensive, intense, persistent, or lasting quality, depending on the semantic features of the verb/verbs underlying it. So an adverb which will bring out this sense is required for an accurate translation of it into English.

Form 9 items are similar in sense and in tone-structure



to those of Form 8. Items consisting of class I elements have high-tones, while those in which a class II element occurs have low-tones. The process of derivation is productive.

Consider the following examples. (1) to (4) contain class I verbs with the suffix -rI, and (5) to (8) have class II verbs with the same suffix. (9) and (10) are derived from class III verbs. And (11) to (14) are derived from compound verbs.

- (1) chariḭ 'intensely/very brilliant/clear/white' (ichā 'to be clean/clear/white/ripe')
- (2) furiḭ 'quite deflated', 'flabby' (ifū 'to fold up')
- (3) dhorii 'very peaceful/quiet' (idhō 'to become peaceful/quiet')
- (4) whnorii 'very clear/unclouded' (iwhnō 'to become clear of darkness or shadow')
- (5) dhòrìì 'very clear' (of liquid) (idhò 'to become clear')
- (6) bhyàrìì 'very soft/downy' (ibhya 'to press down')
- (7) sùrìì 'very woolly' (isù 'to contract')
- (8) pèrìì 'very soft/tender' (ipè 'to cut something succulent/soft')
- (9) gòrìì 'very long', 'trailing' (igōrì 'to wander about')
- (10) pètèè 'very quiet'/'silent' (ipètè 'to remain quite quiet', 'to freeze')
- (11) gbèlèè 'very limp/weak' (igbè 'to weaken'; ilè 'to numb')
- (12) gòhyìì 'very tepid' (igò 'to deviate'; ihyì 'to twist')
- (13) g'ùnyàà 'much controlled', 'very restrained' (ig'ù 'to

tie firmly'; inyā 'to plaster')

- (14) kpūlīī 'very tough' (īkpū 'to be blunt'; ilī 'to resist')

(x) Form 10

The structure of the items of Form 10 is

Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + (Verb Root<sub>2</sub>) + Suffix (vowel)  
(Suffix)

The only verbs which have been found to occur in the second segment are the verbs irā 'to lick', and irē 'to decay'. And the suffix in the second segment is the -rI suffix. The final vowel is a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Each item in the Form has low-high-mid tones. The items which have so far been discovered are fully listed below, and they are similar in semantic sense as the items of Form 9.

- (1) bōraā 'very tasteless'; 'illusive' (ibō 'to happen unexpectedly'; irā 'to lick/make smooth')
- (2) gbūraā 'very disgusting/tasteless' (igbū 'to disgust'; irā)
- (3) phūraā 'very deadening'; 'lacking sharpness' (iphū 'to deaden'; irā)
- (4) whnōraā 'very clear/unshaded' (iwhnō 'to become clear'; irā)
- (5) whnūraā 'very rotund' (iwhnū 'to prune round'; irā)
- (6) tūreē 'very foul' (of smell) (itū 'to hack'; irē 'to decay')

- (7) whnòriĩ 'generally clear/open' (iwhnō 'to become clear'; -rI)
- (8) bàriĩ 'generally bright' (ibā 'to spread/increase'; -rI)
- (9) kpòroō 'very unflinching' (of looking) (ikpōrò 'to gaze vacantly')

(xi) Form 11

The structure of items in this Form is

Reduplicated Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + {Verb Root<sub>2</sub>  
{Suffix}}

Each item has low-low-high tones, as in the following examples.

- (1) búbèri 'stupid', 'foolish', 'idiotic' (ibūbè 'to behave in a stupid way'; -ri (lexical suffix))
- (2) whnùwhnòri 'troublesome', 'stupid' (iwhnūwhnò 'to buzz about')
- (3) gbùgbùra 'insipid', 'tasteless' (igbù 'to disgust'; irā)
- (4) whnùwhnèri 'expansive' (iwhnē 'to roam about')

The process of derivation is productive.

(xii) Form 12

The structure of items of Form 12 is

D (Verb Root + Suffix (-rA/E))

The items have low-low-high-low tones, and all of them imply, in their meanings, the sense of roundness or circularity, the verbs from which they are derived indicating the manner in which the roundness is achieved.

The process is productive.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) gbùrùgburù 'round' (by cutting) (igbū 'to cut' + -rA/E)

- (2) kèrèkèrè 'round' (by dividing) (ikè 'to divide')
- (3) gwòrògwòrò 'round' (by rolling up) (igwò 'to roll up')
- (4) whnèrèwhèrè 'round', 'roundabout' (by roaming about)  
(iwhè 'to roam about')

(xiii) Form 13

The structure of items of Form 13 is

Verb Root<sub>1</sub> + Reduplicated -rA/E + Verb Root<sub>2</sub> + -m  
(suffix)

Items of this Form are not in frequent use, but do occur. Two examples only are given. They have high-high-high-low-low tones.

- (1) wereresùn 'easy', 'free', 'unimpeded' (iwē 'to poke',  
isù 'to ram down')
- (2) hyererewàn 'unexpected' (ihyē 'to come from'; iwà 'to  
bestride')

(xiv) Form 14

Items of this Form are derived by the triplication of the verb root. Those derived from class I verbs have high tones and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones, as in the following examples. The items represent the descriptions as a sequence of 'action'. And the process of derivation is productive.

- (1) bibibi 'stiff' (ibī 'to lean on/against')
- (2) rīrīrī 'piercingly bright' (irī 'to creep/crawl')
- (3) gùgùgù 'slow', 'sluggish' (igūgū 'to act slowly')
- (4) ryīryòryò 'drooping' (iryò 'to bend downwards')

With the exception of Forms 1,2,12, and 13, all the Forms so far described can be transformed into Forms 15 and 16. These two Forms are now described.

(xv) Form 15

Items which constitute Form 15 must have four syllables and must have the derivative suffix -rA/E if the verb stem is Complex ~~and~~ Reduplex. If the verb stem is Simplex, the suffix must be -rI which is reduplicated to give the requisite number of syllables. The process is productive and the structure of the items is as follows:

$$\text{Prefix } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{A-} \\ \text{I-} \\ \text{O-} \\ \text{U-} \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Verb Stem (Simplex)} \\ \text{Verb Stem (Compound)} \\ \text{Verb Stem (Reduplex)} \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} -rI + -rI \\ -rA/E \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Suffix (-rA/E)} \\ \text{Suffix (-rA/E)} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The items are derived from forms already derived from verbs by the prefixation of A-, I-, O-, or U- (as in the case of the derivation of nouns) by the addition of the suffix -rA/E, or -rI (which is reduplicated as stated above).

Each item has high-tones throughout irrespective of the class of verb/verbs underlying it, and semantically indicates a quality or state resulting or appearing to result from the performance of the 'action' denoted by the verb of derivation.

In the following examples, items with simplex verb stems are given first, (1) - (10), followed by those with complex (verb root plus verb root, or verb root plus lexical suffix), (11) - (17), and then those with reduplex verb stems, (18) - (25).

- (1) acariri 'rather tattered', 'torn up' (ica 'to cut up' + -rI)
- (2) apiriri 'tiny', 'minute' (ipi 'to pinch, squeeze', + -rI)
- (3) eperiri 'rather small', 'undersize' (ipe 'to chip/be chipped')
- (4) iwiriri 'feathery', 'scaly'; 'liable to disintegrate into feathery bits' (iwe 'to break up into small bits,' 'to moult')
- (5) ithiriri 'rather tall', 'inclined to grow tall', (ithi 'to elongate')
- (6) ocoriri 'rather lush', 'luxuriant' (in growth) (ico 'to grow up')
- (7) okporiri 'rather dry', 'hard' (ikpo 'to dry')
- (8) ucuriri 'rather dark/soiled' (icu 'to become dark/black')
- (9) uzariri 'tasselled' (iza 'to sweep')
- (10) afopiri 'messy' (ifo 'to mash'; ipi 'to squeeze'; + -rA/E)
- (11) egbehuru 'bent', 'inclined' (igbe 'to crawl', ihu 'to bend downwards' + -rA/E)
- (12) imibara 'pursed', 'spread out' (imi 'to purse lips', iba 'to break up'; + -rA/E)
- (13) igboghoro 'pendant', 'pendant' (igboghò 'to wear hanging loose')
- (14) okhokpuru 'humped/hunched' (ikhò 'to swell up', ikpu 'to go in/under')
- (15) okpokoro 'disused', 'useless', 'worthless' (ikpo 'to dry/

get hard',  $\dot{\text{ik}}\bar{\text{o}}$  'to dry up')

- (16) unubara 'plentiful' ( $\text{in}\bar{\text{u}}$  'to push',  $\dot{\text{ib}}\bar{\text{a}}$  'to increase')
- (17)  $\dot{\text{um}}\dot{\text{ik}}\text{p}\text{or}\text{o}$  'emaciated', 'dried-up' ( $\dot{\text{im}}\bar{\text{f}}$  'to dry over fire/  
in sun;  $\dot{\text{ik}}\text{p}\bar{\text{o}}$  'to get dry/hard')
- (18)  $\text{ahy}\dot{\text{i}}\text{hy}\dot{\text{i}}\text{r}\dot{\text{i}}$  'twisted'; 'bad-tempered' ( $\dot{\text{i}}\text{hy}\bar{\text{f}}$  'to twist/  
wring')
- (19) egbugbere 'slow', 'unenterprising' ( $\text{igb}\bar{\text{u}}\text{gb}\bar{\text{e}}$  'to be slow')
- (20) ididere 'feint', 'indistinct' ( $\text{id}\bar{\text{e}}$  'to touch lightly')
- (21)  $\dot{\text{if}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{f}\dot{\text{u}}\text{r}\dot{\text{u}}$  'shrivelled' ( $\dot{\text{if}}\bar{\text{f}}$  'to fold up')
- (22) ocucuru 'rather dark/black/soiled' ( $\text{ic}\bar{\text{u}}$  'to get dark/  
black')
- (23)  $\text{om}\dot{\text{i}}\text{n}\dot{\text{i}}\text{r}\dot{\text{i}}$  'protruberant' ( $\dot{\text{im}}\bar{\text{f}}$  'to draw out')
- (24) ukukuru 'big', 'hefty', 'unwieldy' ( $\text{ik}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}$  'to carry  
laboriously in the arms')
- (25)  $\dot{\text{u}}\text{f}\dot{\text{u}}\text{f}\text{ar}\text{a}$  'rather narrow', 'congested' ( $\dot{\text{if}}\bar{\text{a}}$  'to wedge into')
- (xvi) Form 16

Items which constitute Form 16 have the following structure:

$$(\text{Prefix } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{A--} \\ \text{I--} \\ \text{O--} \\ \text{U--} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{Verb Root})_1 + \text{Infix } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{--da--} \\ \text{--gha--} \\ \text{--la--} \\ \text{--ra--} \\ \text{--ta--} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix} + (\text{Prefix+Verb Root})_1$$

As in Form 15, items of Form 16 are derived from forms which are themselves derived from verbs by prefixation of vowels. They are thus derived from derived bases. The derived base is repeated in its entirety after the infix element, the infix element being brought in for the purpose of the

derivation of the adjective, in the case of forms based on class I or class II verbs. But in the case of forms derived from class III verbs (which have lexical suffixes), the initial part of the derived form is repeated after the lexical suffix which then functions as an infix. Thus from *ikā* 'to exceed', and *ikōtō* 'to lie in a motionless mass' we derive (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) *aka-ta-aka* 'huge', 'enormous', 'great'

(2) *okoto-oko* 'massed-up', 'large', 'enormous'

Each item of Form 16 has three characteristics: (a) it has high-tones throughout; (b) progressive or regressive assimilation takes place in the vowel of the infix; progressive if the repeated base does not have a close vowel as prefix, and an open one as base vowel, but regressive if the prefix is a close vowel and the base vowel an open one (as in (3) and (4)).

(3) *ure-gha-ure* : *ureghuure* 'rotten', 'filthy' (*irē* 'to decay')

(4) *ithi-gha-ithi* : *ithighiithi* 'excessively tall' (*ithī* 'to elongate')

(c) each item has five syllables. Dr. Ward, who alone classifies such items as adjectives, writes with four syllables the only two examples of them which she gives, probably because of the vowel assimilation stated above. In this work, however, the items are written as five syllables. There is supporting evidence for doing this from Form 17 below where the repeated base form has a nasal consonant prefix and the vowel of the infix element is progressively assimilated to the vowel of the



verb root, as in (5):

- (5) nkaranka 'torn', 'worn-out', 'tattered', 'useless' (ikā 'to be torn')

Items of this Form have been hitherto classified as nouns by linguists other than Dr. Ward, because according to the criteria so far used to classify adjectives only the items of Form 1 qualify as adjectives. The fact is that nouns which are similar in structure to adjectives of Form 16 differ from the latter in tones, as in (b) of (6) and (7):

- (6) (a) obodoobo 'broad'  
 (b) òbòdòòbò 'excessive broadness'  
 (7) (a) ogoloogo 'long'  
 (b) ògòlòògò 'excessive length/longness'

The occurrence of the lexical suffixes as infixes is restricted to items derived from the class III verbs which contain them. But the grammatical suffixes -LA, -tA, -rA/E, and -ghA (the first three being 'Case' suffixes, and the last 'Number') which are used as derivatives for Form 16 can occur with any class I or class II verbs from which this type of adjectives ~~is~~ derivable.

The process of derivation is productive, so only a few examples are given in addition to those already given above in (1) - (7).

- (8) abadaaba 'wide and flat' (ibādà 'to be wide')  
 (9) egedeege 'out-standing' (igēdè 'to stand out')  
 (10) ogolooogo 'lank/lean' (igōlò 'to be lank')

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- (11) okobooko 'imposing', 'big but empty' (ikōbò 'to appear substantial but not be so in reality')
- (12) achaghaacha 'over-ripe', 'too white' (ichā 'to ripen/be white' + -ghA)
- (13) irighiiri 'wiry', 'very thin', 'pointed' (irī 'to creep'; + -ghA)
- (14) oryoghooryo 'exceedingly tall/lofty' (iryò 'to bend over', 'sway' + -ghA)
- (15) udeghuude 'wet', 'damp', 'chilling' (idē 'to walk slowly'; + -ghA)
- (16) ubaghyuba 'greasy', 'oily' (ibā 'to leave standing in some liquid'; + -ghA)
- (17) ebhereebhe 'thin' (like a slice) (ibhē 'to slice'; + -rA/E)
- (18) asaraasa 'wide', 'spread-out' (isā 'to unfold'; + -rA/E)
- (19) ogoroogo 'limpid' (igō 'to be clear'; + -rA/E)
- (20) iferiife 'small and light' (ifē 'to fly/blow'; + -rA/E)
- (21) ufuruufu 'burst', 'liable to burst' (ifū 'to burst'; + -rA/E)
- (22) ufuruufu 'folded', 'liable to fold up' (ifū 'to wrap up')
- (23) okpotookpo 'dry and hard', 'barren', 'stony' (ikpō 'to dry hard'; + -tA)
- (24) ereteere 'messy', 'unsightly' (irētē 'to make wet')
- (25) urutuuru 'thick', 'of large quantity' (liquid, sound, dust) (irū 'to bake in hot ash')

(xvii) Form 17

The items which make up Form 17 are similar in structure

to those of Form 16, except that a subtype of them can occur without infixes and there is a difference in tones between items derived from class I verbs and those derived from other verb classes. The process of derivation is productive. The structure of the items is as follows.

$$(\text{Prefix(N)} + \text{Verb Root})_1 \pm (\text{Infix}) \begin{Bmatrix} \text{--da--} \\ \text{--gha--} \\ \text{--la--} \\ \text{--ra--} \\ \text{--ta--} \end{Bmatrix} + (\text{Prefix+Verb Root})_1$$

When there is no infix, the item derived from a class I verb has high-tones throughout, and one derived from a class II verb has high-low-high-low tones, as in (1) - (3) and (4) - (6), respectively.

- (1) mpempe 'chipped', 'impaired' (ipē 'to be chipped')
- (2) mbhyambhya 'depressed', 'deformed' (ibhyā 'to make flat')
- (3) nlonlo 'gummy' (ilō 'to draw (like gum)')
- (4) ntàntà 'small' (ità 'to bite')
- (5) mkpùmkpù 'low' (ikpù 'to cover up')
- (6) njònjò 'flowing', 'lush' (of water, rain) (ijò 'to pour profusely')

When an infix occurs, items derived from class I or class III verbs have high-tones, while those derived from class II verbs have high-tones only on the first syllables.

Consider the following examples.

- (7) mbadamba 'evenly flat' (ibāda 'to be wide and open')
- (8) ngolongo 'tall and spare' (igōlō 'to be tall and spare')

- (9) mgbughumgbu 'loose', 'liable to become loose' (igbū  
'to slip off'; + -ghA)
- (10) mgbeghemgbe 'unsteady', 'loose' (igbē 'to crawl'; +  
-ghA)
- (11) mbelembe 'reduced', 'less', 'easy' (ibē 'to be only';  
+ -lA)
- (12) mgbelemgbe 'low' (of height) (igbē 'to crawl'; + -lA)
- (13) nkaranka 'torn', 'worn out', 'worthless' (ikā 'to be  
torn'; + -rA/E)
- (14) ncharancha 'light-coloured' 'somewhat white/ripe' (ichā  
'to become ripe/white'; + -rA/E)
- (15) mpatampa 'matted', 'flattened' (ipā 'to carry on the  
palm of hand'; + -tA)
- (16) mpotompo 'chopped-up' (ipōtō 'to chop up')
- (17) ncàràncà 'chopped', 'snipped', 'tattered' (icà 'to snip';  
+ -rA/E)
- (18) mkpùrùmkpù (~mkpùrù) 'stumpy', 'knobly' 'shortened',  
'short' (ikpù 'to be blunt/blunted')
- (19) nkhòrònkhò 'entangling' (ikhò 'to hook')

The item (4) ntàntà 'small', is more generally known as ntà, and has an intensive form ntààà 'very small'. Similarly, ntinti 'tiny', 'little', has an intensive form ntiìi 'very tiny'.

Dr. Ward includes the following items of Form 17 in her list of adjectives mkpunkpu 'short', ntà 'small' (with augmented forms of it ntàkili, nwantàkili) and the variant form of (13), nkirika ('old', 'worn out' (which is given in

Form 19 below). Welmers concedes that ntà is an adjective, but includes it with others of Form 1 which he regards as the only adjectives in the language.

It is interesting to observe that the lexical suffix -da occurs aspirated if the consonant of the preceding syllable is aspirated. Compare (a) and (b) of the following:

(20) (a) igōdò 'to form a crop', 'to stand out'

(b) ig'odhò 'to pile up'

(21) (a) ogodoogo 'out-standing'

(b) og'odhoog'o 'piled up'

(c) ng'odhong'o 'high', 'piled up'.

Sometimes items of Form 17 become interchangeable with items of Form 16. Four examples are given:

(22) obodoobo : mbodombo 'broad'

(23) ogoloogo : ngolongo 'long/tall'

(24) abadaaba : mbadamba 'wide and flat'

(25) acharaacha: ncharancha 'light-coloured'

(xviii) Form 18

The structure of items of Form 18 is as follows:

D(Prefix(N)+Suffix)

The first half of each item has low tones, and the second half high tones, as in the following examples.

(1) ñdòròndòrò 'elastic', 'having a tendency to pull' (ìdò 'to pull')

(2) ñchìrìñchìrì 'slippery'; 'tending to be slippery' (ìchì 'to slide')

(3) ngòlòngòlo 'having a tendency to be tall' (igòlò 'to be

tall')

- (4) ñthĩrĩñthĩrĩ 'having a tendency to shoot up high' (ĩthĩ  
'to elongate')

The process of derivation is productive, but not as much as (15) ~ (17).

(xix) Form 19

Items of this Form 19 consist of four syllables made up as follows:

Prefix(N) + Complex Verb Stem {Compound  
Reduplex} + Suffix (-ra/E)

Items derived from class I or class III verbs have high-tones throughout; those derived from reduplicated verb roots also have high tones. Items derived from a combination of class I and class II verb roots have high tones if the class II verb occurs second, but will have the first two syllables low and the rest high if the class II verb occurs initially.

In the examples, (1) to (3) have reduplicated stems; (4) and (5) have compounds of class I verb roots; (6) and (7) have class III verb stems; (8) and (9) have class II verb roots in third position; and (10) and (11) have class II verbs in second syllables.

- (1) nkikara 'tattered'; 'torn up' (~ nkĩrĩka) (ĩkã 'to get torn')
- (2) mwuwara 'narrow' (iwã 'to split')
- (3) ncicara 'snipped', 'tattered' (icã 'to snip')
- (4) mgbapere 'chipped'; 'tiny' (ĩgbã 'to explode'; ipẽ 'to be chipped')

- (5) ndhyufuru 'pierced' (idhū 'to prick'; ifū 'to burst')
- (6) mkpoghorō 'hollow' (ikpōghō 'to howl')
- (7) mgbidiri 'thick' (igbīdī 'to be thick and heavy looking')
- (8) ntikhorō 'bulging' (itī 'to stand out'; ikhō 'to rise')
- (9) ntukuru 'protruding' (itū 'to pin up'; 'ikū 'to carry in arms')
- (10) mkpāfara 'restricting', 'congested' (ikpā 'to hold in'; ifā 'to wedge in')
- (11) mgbàghere 'half-open' (igbà 'to lever up'; ighē 'to be open')

The process of derivation is productive.

(xx) Form 20

The items in Form 20 are derived from derived forms with the prefix A- or O- and a reduplicated stem, such that an infix occurs interposed between the first and second parts of the stem.

The infixes which occur are -rA/E- and -ghA/E-. Items derived from class I verbs have high tones, and those derived from class II verbs have their initial syllables high and the rest low. The process is productive.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) azughyuzu 'ragged', 'worn out' (izū 'to wear away')
- (2) ahyighihyī 'twisted' (ihyī 'to twist')
- (3) ebiribi 'inflexible', 'stiff' (ibī 'to lean on')
- (4) awiriwa 'splintered', 'shredded' (iwā 'to break up')
- (5) ezighizi 'rapid moving' (izi 'to strip off')

- (6) apìrìpì 'squashed', 'squeezed up' (ipì 'to squeeze')

When the verb root has the vowel o/ɔ, discontiguous and regressive assimilation takes place such that the vowel of the first part of the reduplicated stem is assimilated to that of the second part of it. But this has been found in instances where the infix -ghA/E- occurs, as in the following examples.

- (7) xalughulɔ → aloghulɔ 'gummy' (ilɔ 'to draw like gum')

- (8) xekhùghùkhò → ekhòghùkhò 'smoky', 'dusty', 'stuffy'  
(ikhò 'to rise')

When the root vowel is not an o/ɔ such a change does not occur, as these examples below show.

- (9) Oghyryghy 'dug out', 'tunnelled'; 'narrow' (ighy 'to dig out a narrow passage')

- (10) ogurugu 'long', 'elongated' (igū 'to lift upwards')

(xxi) Form 21

Items in Form 21 consist of Acrist Participles (which have been described already under Non-finite Forms, Nf.1.5.) Six examples are given here, two of class I verb origin, and two of class II. (1) to (3) are derived from class I verbs and (4) to (6) from class II verbs.

- (1) ethuthu 'worth looking for', 'deserving/requiring to be looked for' (ithū 'to look for')
- (2) enyinye 'capable of being given', 'worth giving' (inyē 'to give')
- (3) akpukpa 'worthy of being narrated' (ikpā 'to narrate')
- (4) akukò 'plantable' (ikò 'to plant')



- (5) anịnò 'habitable', 'comfortable' (ịnò 'to sit/stay at')  
 (6) efufe (passable' (ife 'to go across')

As the form is derivable from every verb, the process is very productive.

(xxii) Form 22

The rule for the derivation of items of Form 22 was given as Rule 4(1) under 'Derived Nouns', p. 359, and the form of the derived items described. There it was stated that the items can function as adjectives or as nouns. The process of derivation is productive. A few examples are given here, (1) to (3) consisting of items derived from class I verbs, and (4) to (6) of those derived from class II verbs.

- (1) enememe 'having possibility of being done' (ime 'to do')  
 (2) erimeri 'edible' (iri 'to eat')  
 (3) atamata 'chewable' (ita 'to chew')  
 (4) abhamàbhà 'enterable' (ibhà 'to enter')  
 (5) enyòmènyò 'capable of being peered into', 'having possibility of being investigated' (inyò 'to peep/peer')  
 (6) ezèmèzè 'avoidable' (izè 'to avoid')

(xxiii) Form 23

Form 23 consists of the following items only:

- (1) ìbìrìkwho 'sudden', 'violent' (ibi 'to snap'; 'ikwhò 'to lift off with force')  
 (2) ìkìtìkpa 'unexpected', 'deep/broad' (of day/night)  
 (3) ìmìrìka 'soft/tender', 'immature' (imi 'to pinch'; ika 'to tear')

- (4) ìmìrìkìtì 'numerous' (ìmì 'to be deep' + ìkìtì 'many')  
 (5) ìmìrìkìtììmì 'very numerous'  
 (6) èfìrìkpò 'shrivelled up', 'lacking substance' (ìfìkpò 'to shrivel up')

Observe that all except (6) have I- as prefix, and -rA/E as third syllable (except in the case of (2)). The first three syllables have low tones and the rest have high tones, except in (5) where the first two syllables are repeated at the end with their low tones.

(xxiv) Form 24

Form 24 contains only two items which have three syllables with low tones.

- (1) ògbèdè (obele, in Onitsha) 'small', 'young' (of child)  
 (ìgbèdè 'to wear something heavy and depressing')  
 (2) òzùzù (~ òzùgbò) 'all' (ìzù 'to be complete')

(xxv) Form 25

Items of Form 25 are derived from clauses and phrases which have the third person singular pronoun O/ò as subject. The items which have been found are as follows:

- (1) òwèrèanya 'clear', 'intelligible' (O wèrè anya 'The eye got used to it.')  
 (2) òtèrèanya/òtèrèakha 'far', 'distant' (O tèrè anya/akha 'It was far')  
 (3) òkhèrèaka 'small', 'little' (O khèrè aka 'It tied the hands')  
 (4) òdìmàlà/òdìkàlà 'like' (in appearance, size', etc.) (ò

dī mālā/kālā 'It is like...')

- (5) òhnāmālā/òhnākālā 'like' (in size, quantity) (ò hnā  
mālā/kālā 'It is as...as...')

(xxvi) Form 26

The items which make up Form 26 are transformationally derived from Verb Phrases of Complex Clauses Type II by way of the relative clause. Items derived from class II verbs have high tones only on the last syllables. (1) and (2) illustrate the manner of their derivation from <sup>a</sup>clause with the indefinite third person pronoun as subject to an adjective in (c).

- (1) (a) E sīrì any ēsi 'The meat was cooked.'  
(b) any /e sīrì èsi/ 'Meat which was cooked'  
(c) /èsìrìèsé/ any 'cooked meat'
- (2) (a) E bīrì any èbì 'The meat was sliced.'  
(b) any /e bīrì èbì/ 'Meat which was sliced'  
(c) /èbìrìèbì/ any 'sliced meat'

The enclosed elements in (c) of (1) and (2) are the adjectives. Such adjectives can only occur preminally, as the examples above.

A few more examples are given below, the first three, (3) to (5) being derived from class I verbs, and the next three, (6) to (8) from class II verbs. Such adjectives can be derived from any simple verb root.

- (3) àhnūrūàhny 'roasted' (ihnū 'to roast')
- (4) àzūrūàzy 'purchased' (izū 'to purchase')
- (5) èmèrèème 'done', 'completed', 'accomplished' (imē 'to do')

- (6) àlàrààlà 'shaven' (ìlà 'to shave')
- (7) àkpàrààkpà 'woven' (ìkpà 'to weave')
- (8) èsèrèèsè 'ordered' (isè 'to place an order for')
- (xxvii) Form 27

The items which constitute Form 27 are derived from the negative forms of Complex Clauses Type II and consequently are negative in meaning. They can be derived from any verb of the language.

Those derived from class I verbs have high-mid-mid-mid tones, (or high-mid-mid<sup>3</sup>mid<sup>3</sup>mid, if the suffix -ghI occurs also), while those derived from class II verbs have high-low-high-low (or high-low-low-high-low, if -ghI occurs).

A few examples are given as follows.

- (1) anwūanwū (anwūghīanwū) 'deathless', 'undying' (īnwū 'to die')
- (2) ahnūahnū (ahnūghīahnū) 'invisible' (īhnū 'to see')
- (3) agwūagwū (agwūghīagwū) 'unending', 'inexhaustible' (īgwū 'to finish')
- (4) elēele (elēghīele) 'unwatchable' (ilē 'to look')
- (5) ebīebī (ebīghīebī) 'unending', 'interminable', 'eternal' (ibī 'to come to an end')
- (6) amūamū (amūghīamū) 'unlearnable' (imū 'to learn')

#### Unclassed Items

The following seven items cannot be classed owing to their forms:

- (1) gboo 'ancient' (of time)

- (2) akatakpo 'huge', 'very big'
- (3) agadī 'old', 'aged' (compare Efik 'akanī' 'aged')
- (4) ezi/ezigbo/ezigbom 'genuine', 'good', 'fine' (izī 'to be straight/right')
- (5) mpekele 'chipped', 'impaired' (ipē 'to chip'; ikè 'to divide'; + le)
- (6) mgberegwhu 'inclined', 'hilly' (igbē 'to crawl'; + ? ugwhu 'hill')
- (7) èkheèsù 'exact' (of position or statement)

Although these items do not fall into any of the morphological classes set out above, some of them are very close to some classes. On the basis of their tone-structures and syllable-structures all of them, except (7) can be fitted into one or the other of the Forms above.

#### DA.4. Criteria for determining Adjectives in Igbo

Most writers on Igbo grammar are of the the view that there are few adjectives in the language, and some have stated this view quite firmly.<sup>1</sup> Consequently writers give only a small list of items which for them constitute the class of Adjectives

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1. Ida C. Ward: 'An Introduction to the Ibo Language', pp.43f. (1936).  
 M.M.Green and G.E. Igwe: 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo', p. 43f (1963).  
 C. Okonyia: 'Igbo Grammar and Composition', p.30-31 (1962)  
 P.L.Carrell: 'A Transformational Grammar of Igbo', p.3 (1970)  
 W.E. and E.F. Welmers: 'Noun Modifiers in Igbo' - International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.35, No.4, pp. 315-322.

for the language. The longest list is that of Dr. Ida C. Ward consisting of 26 items, and the Welmers (who are the most recent writers on the subject of adjectives) have only 8 items, with the words, "There are, then, exactly eight adjectives in Igbo. They constitute four pairs of antonyms."

While Dr. Ward's items fall into several of the morphological classes set out above, including Form 1, seven of the items given by the Welmers fall into Form 1 and one into Form 17.

There are a number of reasons for the failure to recognize not more than a few items as the adjectives of the language. First, the texts (written or elicited from informants) on which linguists have relied thus far have been of the simplest type and dealing with the simplest of situations. Second, there is always the expectation, though unconscious, that there will be a one-to-one correspondence between English adjectives and Igbo adjectives. This is seen in the fact that the items which are usually taken as adjectives of Igbo are those which translate, without difficulty, the English adjectives 'white', 'black'; 'good', 'bad'; 'new', 'old'; 'big', 'small'; 'tall', 'short'; and similar pairs. Third, the rejection of morphological criterion (though this is not openly expressed) in the determination of adjectives. But this criterion is in evidence in the type of items which so far have been accepted generally as adjectives, that is items of Form 1. What is therefore needed is the extension of the criterion, but

this has not been possible because of ignorance of Igbo morphological processes for the derivation of items of various word classes. Fourthly, there has not been a comprehensive and definitive body of formal criteria for classifying items as being or not being adjectives. The criteria which have so far been tacitly used, but now given express statement by the Welmers in the article referred to above, have been entirely based on the characteristic behaviour of items of Form 1 only, and particularly of oma 'good', ocha 'white', and ukwu 'big'. Thus the procedure is to ask (a) whether the element in question occurs in an NP, (b) whether it occurs post-nominally in an NP, and (c) whether it is tonally invariable in a post-nominal position in an NP. If the word under consideration does these things, then it is concluded that it is an adjective (provided it has a certain phonological shape, like those of Form 1). But if it does not do these things and is not of the assumed shape, then, it is concluded, it is not an adjective.

The procedure used so far suffers from the following defects: it rejects, tacitly, the morphological criterion, and yet indirectly uses it by basing decisions on a limited list of items of a definite morphological shape. It restricts the consideration of adjectives to one type of syntactic construction only, the NP, and does not give recognition to the Verb Phrase in the consideration of adjectives: and in the NP it restricts adjectives to the post-nominal position only. Thus it assumes that all adjectives of the language must have the same syntactic characteristics. However, the

greatest defect is making everything to turn on the tonal behaviour of the element in question.

DA.4.1. The use of tonal criterion

The criterion that for an item to qualify as an adjective it must be tonally invariable if it occurs following a noun, has limited usefulness in the endeavour to determine adjectives. It can apply only to items which do not have more than two syllables in their structure, or having up to two syllables do not have any low tone at all. For it is known that any post-nominal element of any word class having more than two syllables will not undergo any tonal change unless the first syllable only has a low tone. Thus the use of the criterion has applied so far only to oma, ocha and ukwu.

However, the criterion applies also to items which have not so far been regarded as adjectives, though consisting of two syllables like the three words just given. Such items include items in Form 2 which are derived from class I verbs, such as gom 'clear', 'eloquent'; the item gboo 'ancient', 'former'; and the Simple Participles used as adjectives (and not having Complements), as in (3). Compare the elements, enclosed in //, in (1) with those in (2), (3) and (4).

(1) (a) ihyne /oma/ 'a good thing'

(b) ihyne /ocha/ 'white thing'

(c) ihyne /ukwu/ 'a big thing'

(2) olu /gom/ 'an eloquent voice'

(3) (a) ihyne /nle/ 'a thing to see/worth seeing'



(b) ihyne/mvu/ 'a thing to be carried/requiring to be carried'

(4) ndi /gboó/ 'ancient people'/'people of former times'

The criterion however does not apply to the recognized Demonstrative Adjectives with a single syllable, the words wa and ma, as in (5).

(5) (a) ihyne /wā/ 'the thing'/'thing under reference'

(b) unu /mā/ (ndi) 'you people yourselves' ('the you people')

From the facts stated above it follows that tonal change or the lack of it cannot by itself determine whether or not an element is an adjective. The function of the mid-tone in the language has been stated in the Introduction, pp. 18f. The function of the mid-tone is not to define word classes but to indicate, where possible, a relation of constituency between contiguous elements.

#### DA.4.2. The use of Morphological Criteria

As stated above, in restricting the number of adjectives in the language to the morphological type given earlier as Form 1, a morphological criterion is being used without this being openly stated. What is therefore called for is the extension of this criterion to other morphological types whose nature have so far been misunderstood or not understood at all because no study of Igbo morphology has until now been made. It has been shown above how nouns and adjectives are derived from verbs. Furthermore it was also revealed that the

morphological forms of adjectives contribute to the total meaning of the items. This makes it possible to derive several types of adjectives from the same verb root. Thus, for instance, we can get the following forms from the verb ifē 'to fly/blow' to indicate the 'quality of being light in weight': fem, femfem, ferofere, feriferi, ferii, efegheefe, iferiife, etc. (forms which hitherto have been called either onomatopoeic words or ideophones, through lack of knowledge of Igbo morphology). There is therefore no justification at all for selecting one morphological type and throwing out all others, or calling them nouns.

Attention to the morphology of Igbo will help in no small way to dispel the untenable view that the language is lacking in adjectives. The truth is that it is very lacking in the type of adjective which linguists have chosen to recognize as such, those of Form 1, derived by the least productive of the processes. Giving attention to morphology will not only reveal that they are different morphological types of adjectives, but will also show that there are definite differences between nouns and adjectives derived from the same verb, and the types of nouns are as varied as the types of adjectives. Compare, for instance, the nouns derived from ifē, in DN.3.(5), pp. 378f, and the adjectives derived from the same word, in DA.2.(ii). Furthermore, where nouns and adjectives have identical phonological composition, a difference is made by contrastive tone-structure, as was instanced in (6) and (7) under Form 16,

on page 421 above.

A morphological criterion is as much a formal criterion as a syntactic one though of a different order or level. To deny it a place in Igbo, with its particular nature and characteristics, is to indulge in a linguistic imperialism that cannot be accepted tamely, or in a dogmatism that flies in the face of empirical facts. It has often been stated by linguists that one of the fundamental facts about language is its creativity. This creativity is not limited in its operation to the creation of syntactic structures. Languages create new forms of expression and various classes of forms as they require them, and by rules inherent in them. And what a language lacks in one direction, it makes up for in another. Thus Igbo lacking in the types of adjectives which characterize, say English, creates from verbs the types of adjectives it needs, and by its peculiar morphological and regular processes.

The morphological section of this work here is of interest, in several ways. It shows how the language creates nouns, adjectives and adverbs from verbs. It also provides additional evidence of what Talmy Givón found in Bantu; and supports the claims of transformational grammarians that verbs and adjectives are members of the same deep-structure category.

Talmy Givón writes, "The class adjective is an intriguing grammatical category in Bantu. Many present day Bantu adjectives can be shown to have been diachronically derived from nouns or verbs, and it is still an open question whether

a lexical category 'adjective' existed in Proto Bantu. The number of morphologically underived adjectives in most Bantu languages is extremely small. Verb-to- Adjective derivational channels are still synchronically productive in many Bantu languages."<sup>1</sup> He observes too that a number of English adjectives are derived from nouns or verbs.<sup>2</sup>

John Lyons writes, "The two most obvious differences between the lexical classes in English traditionally referred to as adjectives and verb both have to do with the surface phenomenon of inflexion..... We have already seen that 'adjectives' and 'verbs' have much in common, and that in many languages (including English) they are correctly brought together as members of the same deep-structure category."<sup>3</sup>

Jacobs and Rosenbaum write, "quite recently, several grammarians have found some reason to believe that verbs and adjectives are not distinct constituents in deep structures. Rather, it is supposed, both are Verbals and their differences are represented in the lexicon in terms of (+V) for verbs, and (-V) for adjectives."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Talmy Givón: 'Studies in Chibemba and Bantu Grammar', p.20 (Studies in African Linguistics, vol.3, supplement 3, June 1972)
  2. Talmy Givón: 'Notes on the Semantic Structure of English Adjectives' - Language, vol.46, No.4, 1970, pp.816f.
  3. John Lyons: 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', pp.324-6
  4. Jacobs & Rosenbaum: 'English Transformational Grammar', p. 63f.

Finally, Pieter Seuren writes, "Incidentally, since relational constituents such as 'main verb', 'subject', 'object', seem to figure universally in the deep structure of all languages, and since there seem to be also universal restrictions on the occurrence of classes of lexical items in any, or any set of, these positions, there are good reasons for taking the rough classes of 'verb', 'noun', 'adjective' as universal for all languages, in spite of language-bound surface differences in morphological and syntactic rules."<sup>1</sup>

These writers in their own ways make reference to morphological facts with reference to verbs and adjectives, thus implying that such facts are not irrelevant.

#### DA.4.3. The use of Syntactic Criteria

To advocate attention to morphology in considering adjectives in Igbo is not to abandon the use, or minimize the value, of syntactic criteria. On the contrary, both types of criteria are needed. Syntactic criteria have the following values in Igbo, as far as distinguishing adjectives is concerned: (a) they sort out adjectives into syntactic classes. For, contrary to prevalent views about Igbo adjectives, they do not all have the same syntactic characteristics, (and this includes those items of Form 1 which have been recognized as adjectives.); while some occur only as adjuncts in NP's, others can occur either as adjuncts in NP's or as Complements in VP's. And among those which can occur in NP's, while some can only occur post-nominally, others can only occur pre-nominally, and

1. Pieter A.M. Seuren: *Operators and Nucleus*, p.69

others still can occur either pre- or post-nominally but the change of position is accompanied by meaning-emphasis change.

(b) Syntactic criteria test the validity of classifications made on morphological basis. This applies both to adjectives and to nouns. For, from discoveries made in the process of researching for this work, it was observed that some words which have consistently been labelled as nouns do function often as adjectives. (c) In addition, syntactic criteria lead to a recognition of four important, but so far neglected, facts of the language; that some words have dual functions in the language, functioning as nouns and also as adjectives in different constructions. Examples of such words are ùfodu 'some', otutu 'many', òzo 'another' the use of which is illustrated as follows:

- (1) (a) /ùfodu/ byàrà. 'Some came.'
- (b) /ùfodu/ māḍhù byàrà. 'Some people came.' (emphatic)
- (c) Madhù /ùfodu/ byàrà. 'Some people came.' (unemph.)
- (2) (a) O znìrì ṃ /otutu./ 'He showed me many.'
- (b) O znìrì ṃ /otutu/ eghū. 'He showed me many goats.'
- (c) \* O znìrì ṃ /eghu/ otutu/. 'He showed me many goats.'
- (3) (a) Wèta /òzo/. 'Bring another.'
- (b) Wèta eg̣hu /òzo/. 'Bring another goat.'
- (c) \* Wèta /òzo/ eghū. 'Bring another goat.'

The class of Numerals would be included in the list of dual-functioning elements.

The second fact is that items which have hitherto been

taken as 'Interrogative words' function as adjectives. These are òleē, ndii, òle, and cumō. Consider the following examples:

- (4) /òleē/ onye mēre yā? 'Which person did it?' ('Which person who did it?')
- (5)(a) Onye /òlê/ mērè ya? 'Which person did it?' (Unemph.)  
 (b) /Òle/ ònyê mērè ya? 'Which person did it?' (emph.)
- (6) /Ndii/ onye mēre yā? 'Which person did it?' ('Which person who did it?')
- (7) /Cumō/ onye mēre yā? 'Which person, possibly, did it?' ('Which person, possibly, who did it?')

The word òle can also be used as a noun, as in (8).

- (8) Ò nyèrè gị /òle/? 'How many did he give you?' ('He gave you number (undefined)?')

The third fact is that by using syntactic criteria, words which do not qualify as adjectives on the basis of tonal, or morphological character (as set out in Forms 1 to 27) nevertheless qualify as such on the basis of their syntactic behaviour. These words include reference elements or Demonstrative Adjectives, and some quantifiers (not numerals), as follows:

- (9) à 'this/these' (proximate)
- (10) nàa 'this/these' (proximate, emphatic)
- (11) wà 'this/these' (proximate, emphatic, oblique, insinuating)
- (12) ahnù 'that/those' (remote)
- (13) wa 'that/those', 'the' (remote, oblique)

- (14) ma 'the' (remote/proximate, emphatic, used with pronouns only)
- (15) nùhnù 'other' (remote)
- (16) nùhnù 'other' (remoter than (15))
- (17) niyeē 'other' (remoter than (16))

All these occur only post-nominally, while of the Quantifiers (18) and (19) occur only post-nominally, (20) to (23) pre-nominally, and (24) either pre- or post-nominally.

- (18) dūm 'all'
- (19) niīle 'all'
- (20) rūrūra 'all', 'general', 'comprehensive'
- (21) òwhnu 'whole', 'entire'
- (22) akaāhū 'part'
- (23) afū 'half'
- (24) naāni 'sole', 'only'

The fourth fact is that the process is going on whereby while adjectives are being 'substantivized', nouns are being 'adjectivized'. Without the application of syntactic criteria to elements in constructions, these facts cannot be known. This two-way process will be discussed below in DA.5.2. and DA.9.

The criticism of the syntactic criteria so far used by writers is twofold: it is rigidly restricted to the NP, and even there, only the items which occur post-nominally are regarded as adjectives. In this work the NP and the VP are both taken into account, and so are the pre- and the post-



nominal positions in NP's.

#### DA.5. Syntactic Classification of Adjectives

Igbo adjectives fall into two main syntactic classes:

- (a) those which characteristically function as adjuncts in NPs;
- (b) those which can occur as predicatives, in VP's or as adjuncts in NP's.

These two classes are given in terms of the Forms given above, items being specifically mentioned if morphologically unclassified, or behave differently from others of their morphological class.

##### (a) Adjectives functioning as adjuncts:

These comprise the following:

- (i) oma, ocha, ukwu, ojoṣo and ajoṣo in Form 1.
- (ii) dam, 'only' (emphatic), kpor 'only', gbom 'genuine', 'excellent', in Form 2, plus ezigbon 'genuine', 'exquisite'.
- (iii) ezi 'good', 'nice'; gboo 'ancient', 'former', èkheèsù 'exact'
- (iv) Items of Forms 21, 26; ibirikwho, ikitikpa, in Form 23; òzùzù/òzùgbò, in Form 24; items in Form 25, except òkherèaka; plus ebiri 'numerous', 'much'
- (v) Demonstrative Adjectives (as listed in DA.4.3. (9) to (17)); Interrogative Adjectives (as in DA.4.3. (4) to (7)).

Quantifiers (as listed in DA.4.3. (18) to (24)), except òvhu, and akaēhy.

- (vi) 'Adjectivized nouns' (see DA.5.2. below, p. 441)

(b) Adjectives functioning as Adjuncts or Predicatives

These comprise -

- (i) ochiē, ojiē, ohnyō, okpōō, and ukwuū, in Form 1;
- (ii) nnukwu 'big', 'much', 'plentiful'; akatakpo, agadī, mpekele, and mgberekwhu ('Unclassed Items', p. 424f)
- (iii) all items of Form 2, except those given in (a) (ii) above.
- (iv) Items of Forms 3 to 20, 22, and 27.
- (v) Items given in Form 23, and Forms 24 and 25, except those given in (a) (iv) above;
- (vi) Numerals.

DA.5.1. Positional Classification of Adjectives

On the basis of their positions in the NP relative to the head-word, adjectives fall into three positional classes:

- (a) those which occur only in pre-nominal position;
- (b) those which occur only in post-nominal position; and
- (c) those which can occur either in pre- or in post-nominal position. However those which can occur in either position normally occur in post-nominal position, but occur in pre-nominal position for emphasis.

(a) Adjectives occurring only in pre-nominal position

The items which occur only in pre-nominal position are:

- (i) ajoō 'bad', 'wicked' (emphatic form of ojoō), in Form 1;
- (ii) gbom/ezigbom, in Form 2; ezi, òzùzù/òzùgbò; ìkìtìkpa, ìmìrìka, ìmìrìkìtì, ìmìrìkìtìmì, and àfìrìkpo, in Form 23;
- (iii) items in Form 25, and those of Form 26;

- (iv) the numeral otù, 'one', chu 'twenty', nnù 'fourhundred';
- (v) 'adjectivized nouns';
- (vi) Interrogative Adjectives, except òle;
- (vii) òwhnu, akaāhù, afù, rùrùra.

(b) Adjectives occurring only post-nominally

Adjectives which occur only post-nominally consist of

- (i) ojiē, ọhnyō, ukwu, ukwuù, ọma, ọcha, and ọjọō, in Form 1;
- (ii) gboo; dam 'only', in Form 2;
- (iii) Numerals other than those mentioned in (a) (iv) above;
- (iv) Demonstrative Adjectives;
- (v) dùm, niīle; ọzọ.

(c) Adjectives which can occur either pre- or post-nominally

Adjectives which can occur pre- or post-nominally include

- (i) ochiē, in Form 1; agadī.
- (ii) all other items not included in (a) or (b) above.

Some illustrations of each positional class are now given.

(a)

- (1) /ajoyō/ mādhy 'a wicked person' (Form 1)
- (2) /gbom/ àlā 'an excellent piece of land' (Form 2)
- (3) /ezi/ okwū 'true word'/'truth'
- (4) /òzùzù/ ebē 'all places' (Form 24)
- (5) /otù/ onyē 'one person' (Numeral)
- (6) /imìrìka/ jī 'immature jam' (Form 23)
- (7) /ọhnamàlā/ ulō ñke à! 'Such a big house this is! (Form 25)
- (8) /ag'y/ nwokhē 'a lively man' (Adjectivized Noun)

(b)

- (9) òkpu /òhnyò/ 'a new hat' (Form 1)  
 (10) àbụò /dam/ 'two only' (Form 2)  
 (11) akwukwò /āto/ 'three books' (Numeral)  
 (12) onye /m̄bụ/ 'the first person' (Numeral, Ordinal)  
 (13) ebe /ahn̄/ 'that place' (Demonstrative Adj.)  
 (14) m̄gbè /niīle/ 'every time' (Quantifier)

(c)

- (15) (a) m̄gbè /ochiè/ 'olden times', 'former time' (Form 1)  
 (b) /ochiē/ m̄gbè 'former time'/'rather earlier time'  
 (emph.)  
 (16) (a) osisi /ogoloogo/ 'a tall tree' (Form 16)  
 (b) /ogoloogo/ osisi 'a tall (emph.) tree'  
 (17) (a) onye /mkp̄umkp̄u/ 'a short person' (Form 17)  
 (b) /mkp̄umkp̄u/ onyē 'a short (emph.) person'  
 (18) (a) akwà /feriferi/ 'a light cloth' (Form 5)  
 (b) /feriferi/ akwà 'light (emph.) cloth'

In the matter of some adjectives occurring characteristically before or after the noun they qualify, Igbo is somewhat like French, as the following French examples show:

- (19) /un beau petit/ tapis 'a fine small carpet'  
 (20) /grand/ flacon 'large bottle'  
 (21) le /pauvre/ Jacques 'poor Jacques'  
 (22) un hôtel /confortable/ 'a comfortable hotel'  
 (23) chaussures /noires/ 'black shoes'

But Igbo goes beyond French in having adjectives which can

either occur pre-nominally or post-nominally (as in (15) - (18) above), though with meaning-emphasis change. This is in line with what Talmy Givón observed in Chi Bemba. He writes, "Adjectives appear in 'stacked' chains of restrictive modifiers, and shifting their relative order within the chain results in the characteristic meaning-emphasis change:

- (24) abaana basuma baakalaamba baboomba saana 'good big children work a lot (as against small ones)'  
 (25) abaana baakalaamba basuma baboomba saana 'good big children work a lot (as against bad big ones)'

Thus, while in English this contrast with adjectives is achieved by intonation (with adjectives rigidly ordered in prenominal position), in ChiBemba the same is done by reordering.<sup>1</sup>

Consider the following examples in Igbo.

- (26) egwu /ukwu ojiē/ 'a big black goat (not small black goat)'  
 (27) egwu /ojiē ukwu/ 'a black big goat (not a white big goat)'

But, in Igbo the reordering is not only among 'stacked' adjectives only, but also between adjective and head-noun, as in (15) to (18).

#### DA.5.2. 'Adjectivized Nouns'

A number of nouns in the language have come to be used as adjectives, while still functioning as nouns in certain contexts. By 'adjectivized nouns' is not meant nouns which have what might be described as possessive relationship with a preceding noun. For 'adjectivized nouns' always precede

the other noun which they qualify. Words which function in this way include: nwa 'child', nne 'mother', ezè 'chief, king', okhe 'male', nnà 'father', àdha 'daughter', dìmkpà 'grown-up', agha 'war', and many others.

Consider the following examples of their use.

- (1) /nwa/ ulò 'a small house'
- (2) /nne/ nwaànyị 'a motherly woman', 'a gentle woman'
- (3) /ezè/ nwokhè 'a dignified man'
- (4) /okhe/ èvùlè 'a strong man'
- (5) /nnà/ ehyī 'a mature cow'
- (6) /àdha/ eghū 'a young she-goat'
- (7) /dìmkpà/ onyē 'a strong/grown-up person'
- (8) /agha/ mādhyè 'numerous people'
- (9) /ìberìibe/ mādhyè 'a foolish person' (ìberìibe 'foolishness')

The second noun in each of the examples is not the possessor of the first noun, as would be the case in such instances as (10) and (11) where the first nouns are the heads of the NP.

- (10) nwa /nnē/ 'the child of a mother'
- (11) ezē /àlà/ 'the chief of the land'

Ambiguities in constructions like those in (1) to (9) can only arise when the constructions are taken out of syntactic context.

#### DA.6. Predicative Adjectives

As was observed earlier, the treatment of adjectives in

Igbo has before now been restricted to the NP. The occurrence of adjectives in VP's will now be considered.

The nearest approach to considering adjectives in verb-phrases was made by Dr. Ward (whose views were later repeated by the Welmers in the article referred to earlier). She said: "A large number of nouns are used after the verb di (to be) or another verb to express an adjectival idea.

- (1) *jí dī ọkụ.* 'The jam is hot.'
- (2) *Akwà dī inyí.* 'The cloth is dirty'.
- (3) *Jí jòrọ njo.* 'The yam is bad.'
- (4) *Ọgwù nùrù inu.* 'The medicine is bitter.' .....

All the above examples of verb+noun can be and are frequently used to do the work of an attributive adjective. Such a phrase is in the nature of a relative adjective clause (without a relative pronoun).....

- (5) *Jí dī ọkụ* 'hot jam' (jam which is hot)
- (6) *Akwà dī inyí* 'dirty cloth' (cloth which is dirty)...."<sup>1</sup>

It should be observed that Dr. Ward talks about "verb+noun" used to "express" an adjectival idea, but not of "verb + adjective", which is what is to be considered here.

It should also be observed that not every "verb + noun" expresses an adjectival idea, but "certain verbs + certain nouns". This requires a subcategorization of the verbs and nouns of the language. It is not possible to do this here, but it can be briefly stated that the verb-phrase (or more accurately, one of the types of verb-phrases) which expresses an adjectival

idea is made up of "stative/process verb + stative/abstract noun of quality".

Contrast (a) and (b) of (7) which have different sub-classes of nouns, and consider (8) and (9) which have different subcategories of verbs from (7).

(7) (a) *Jĩ ḍĩ /ajha/*. 'There is sand in the jam' (Jam contains sand)

(b) *Jĩ ḍĩ /ikhe./* 'The jam is hard.'

(8) *Àgwà yâ /màrà/ mma*. 'His behaviour is good.'

(9) *Nkwũ /thĩrĩ/ ùthĩ* 'The palm-tree is tall' (..grew to be tall)

In (7) we have *idĩ* which is one of the 'verbs to be' which exist in the language; in (8) an example of a subclass of 'stative verbs'; and in (9) an instance of a 'process verb'. In the last two sentences, the notion contained in the verb is 'nominalized' and forms the Complement of the verb.

Nouns such as *ikhe* 'strength/power', in (7), *mma* 'goodness/beauty', in (8), and *ùthĩ* 'growth/height', which are abstract and qualitative in sense overlap with adjectives in their distribution, not only in the NP, but also in the VP, as will be demonstrated below with regard to the VP only. When such nouns, and adjectives, occur as Complements of 'stative verbs'/'process verbs' they have 'attributive' functions which may be 'depictive' or 'resultative', as Halliday defines these terms: "In intensive clauses (i.e.- "Clauses with 'ascription' process type...")... the process is itself merely one of ascription;



here therefore the participant being characterized is simply what we may call an 'attribuant': his role, that is to say, is that of bearing the attribute in question. For this reason the attribute is obligatory in intensive clauses; and the structural element by which the attribute is expressed is thus referred to as 'intensive complement', Cint. The sense of 'intensive' here is 'having, by definition, the same referent as another element in the clause... It has been shown that the feature 'attributive' must be represented, more delicately, as a system of depictive/resultative. In intensive clauses, where the 'process' is one referred to as 'ascription', the only role of the subject is that of attribuant and the attribute is thus obligatory. In extensive clauses, on the other hand, the role of attribuant is always combined with another participant role (goal in effective, actor in descriptive) and the attribute is thus always optional."<sup>1</sup>

DA.6.1. Adjectives in Intensive Clauses

There are nine verbs 'to be' in Igbo, but only four of them can take 'intensive complements' or attributive complements' (whether adjectives or abstract nouns of quality). The four verbs are (6) to (9) in the following list:

- (1) iyī 'to be like' (comparative)
- (2) inò 'to be in/at/on' (locative)

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1. M.A.-K. Halliday: 'NOTES on Transitivity and Theme in English', JL. Vol.3, pp.40ff.

- (3) *ibē* 'to be only' (paucal)
- (4) *ihnā* 'to be equal' (comparative)
- (5) *iwū* 'to be' (identifying, equating)
- (6) *imō* 'to be' (attributive)
- (7) *ikā* 'to be more than' (comparative)
- (8) *ihnā* 'to be equivalent to', 'to be as much as' (comparative)
- (9) *idī* 'to be' (attributive; 'locative'; 'existential')

Attention will be restricted here to the verb *idī*. To be accurately used, this verb needs to be recategorized into (i) *idī* (locative); (ii) *idī* (existential); and (iii) *idī* (attributive). (i) and (ii) uses of the verb are briefly characterized as follows: (i) *idī* (locative) implies that the subject of the clause is 'located at/on/in', and so takes a locative prepositional phrase as complement; or implies that the subject 'contains something', or 'is contained in' and consequently takes a concrete noun as complement.

Consider the following examples.

- (10) *Akwukwò /dì n'ìgbe./* 'the book is in the box'
- (11) *Ezè /dì n'arọ./* 'Ezè is in a dream'
- (12) *Ahyā /dì n'Èkhe./* 'There is a market on Èkhe day.'
- (13) *Ìgbè /dì akwukwọ./* 'The box contains books.'
- (14) *Jí /dì manụ./* 'The jar contains oil.'

With *idī* (locative), where the subject is an abstract noun, as in (15), the subject functions as the 'attribute' and the complement as the 'attribuant', as in (16) to (18).

- (16) *Iwè dì Ezè.* 'Ezè is angry.' (Anger is contained in Ezè)

(17) Ikhê di Àdha. 'Àdha is energetic.' (Energy is contained in Àdha.)

(18) Ụkpà dì Òbì. 'Òbì is poor.' (Poverty is contained in Òbì.)

Similarly, a prepositional phrase complement of idī can have attributive sense, as in (19) and (20).

(19) Ohynī dī n'iwu. 'Theft is illegal.' (Theft is in law.)

(20) Òkwū dī n'ikpe. 'The matter is controversial.' (The matter is in judgement.)

(ii) idī (existential) is used intransitively, (i.e. it does not have a complement), as in the following instances:

(21) Chukwū dī. 'God is.'

(22) Nnà m dī. 'My father is/exists/is alive.'

(23) Eg'ô dī. 'There is money'.

(24) Ogbè dī. 'There is time.'

(25) Adī m. 'I am/I exist.'

With idī (attributive), only predicative adjectives, or abstract nouns of quality can occur as complements with attributive functions. Adjectives are illustrated first, and then nouns (to show the overlap of adjectives and abstract nouns in their distributions).

In the following examples of attributive adjectives (26) to (30) are items of Form 1 (which have all been generally accepted as adjectives) which can occur as predicatives; and (31) belongs to Form 17 (and has also been accepted as an adjective). The rest belong to other Forms.

- (26) Ezè dī /ojiē/. 'Ezè is black.'
- (27) Akwà dī /ochiē/. 'The cloth is old/worn out.'
- (28) Uzò dī /ohnyò/. 'The road is new.'
- (29) Anū dī /okpò/. 'The meat is dried.'
- (30) Eg'ô dū /ukwu/. 'The money is much.'
- (31) Ulò dī /ntà/. 'The house is small.'
- (32) Aka yā dī /sikhem/. 'His arm is quite stiff.'
- (33) ò dī /kejirikejiri?/ 'Is it brittle?'
- (34) Òbī dī /ogoloogo/. 'Òbi is tall.'
- (35) Ahyā dī /whnorii/. 'The market is open/unshaded.'
- (36) Manū dī /gigege/. 'The oil is liquid.'
- (37) Ofé dī /gbùgbùra/. 'The soup is insipid.'
- (38) ọ dī /ekwüekwu/. 'It is unspeakable.'

In the following examples abstract nouns occur as attributive complements.

- (39) Òbī dī /ikhe/. 'Òbi is strong.' ('Òbi has strength.')
- (40) Nrī dī /nryò/. 'The food is soft.' (Food has softness)
- (41) Akwà dī /ùcha/. 'The cloth is white/clean.' (Cloth has whiteness/cleanness.)
- (42) Unù dī /umeṅgwu/. 'You people are lazy.' (You (pl.) have laziness.)

In (26) to (38) and (39) to (42) we have intensive complements functioning as 'depictive attributes', in intensive clauses. In the two sets of examples, there is no syntactic means of differentiating the adjectives from the abstract nouns. In such a situation it becomes necessary to have recourse to

morphological criteria. However, there is a syntactic test which can be applied to complements of intensive clauses like those above to discover whether they are adjectives or nouns. It might be called 'the reversal of functions test'. By this the positions of the subject and the complement are reversed. When this is done, it is discovered that while abstract noun complements can function as subjects and still have attributive functions or senses, adjectives cannot function as subjects, thus the reversal makes the clause ungrammatical.

Consider the application of the test to (26), (28), (34) and (35).

(26') \* Ojiē̃ dī Ezē. \* 'Black is Ezē.'

(28') \* Chnuō̃ dī uzō. \* 'New is the road.'

(34') \* Ogoloogō dī Òbi. \* 'Tall is Òbi.'

(35') \* Whnoriî dī ahyā. \* 'Open/unshaded is the market.'

The application of the test to abstract nouns yields the same type of clause which was exemplified in (15) to (18) above. That means that a locative clause results and is often set out in full by the addition of a locative prepositional phrase. The test, applied to (39) to (42) gives the following clauses. (The alternative and extended clause is put in brackets ().)

(39') Ikhē dī Òbi. (Ikhē dī Òbi (n'āhū).) 'Òbi is strong.'  
(Strength is in Òbi/Strength is in Òbi (in body).)

(40') Nryō dī nri n'āhū. 'The food is soft'. (Softness is in food in body')

(41) Ûchâ dì akwà n'ành. 'The cloth is white/clean.' ('Whiteness/cleanness is in cloth in body.')

(42) Umeñgwũ dì unũ. (Umeñgwũ dì unũ (n'ành)) 'You are lazy.' (Laziness is in you/Laziness is in you in body.)

#### DA.6.2. Adjectives as Complements of 'process verbs'

In clauses with 'process verbs' (that is verbs which express processes) both adjectives and abstract nouns can occur as complements with attributive resultative functions. But adjectives are distinguished from nouns by the fact that while the nouns can occur only as 'cognate objects' or 'nominalizations' of the verbs and only when these verbs occur, adjectives are not so restricted. This provides another criterion for distinguishing abstract nouns from adjectives.

Consider the following instances of noun complements in

(1) to (9).

(1) Àdhâ mārà /mma/. 'Àdha is beautiful.'/'Àdha became beautiful.'

(2) Ezè thĩrĩ /ũthĩ/. 'Ezè is tall.'/'Ezè is tall-grown.'

(3) Abũ ṭòṛò /ũṭò/. 'The song was nice.'

(4) Òbĩ vùrù /ivù/. 'Òbĩ is fat.'/'Òbĩ grew fat.'

(5) Ụẓò j̣òṛò /ṇj̣ò/. 'The road is bad.'/'The road became bad.'

(6) Akwhâ ṛèṛè /ũṛè/. 'The egg is rotten.'/'The egg became rotten.'

(7) Akwà cḥàṛà /ũcḥa/. 'The cloth became white/clean.'

(8) Nrĩ ṛỵòṛò /nṛỵò/. 'The food is/became soft.'

(9) Nth-ũtḥũ ỵà j̣ĩṛì /ṇj̣i/. 'The hair of his head became black.'

Contrast the fore-going examples with the following ones where adjectives are used as complements in place of nouns, particularly compare, (2), (3) and (4) with (10), (11) to (13), respectively. In the latter four adjectives are substituted for nouns as complements.

- (10) Ezè thiri /irighiri/. 'Ezè grew very slender.'
- (11) Abù tọrọ /uneghuune/. 'The song was very delicious.'
- (12) Òbì vùrù /udughuudu/. 'Òbì grew very massive.'
- (13) Ofè tọrọ /phuraā/. 'The soup tasted insipid.'
- (14) Àdàà còrò /obiribi/. 'Àdàà grew tall and stately.'
- (15) Jí ghèrè /gwòkògwòkò/. 'The yam cooked too soft.'

In (14) and (15) the 'cognate nouns' of the verbs ùcò 'growth', ùghè 'cooking', respectively, could be substituted for the adjectives, and will change the meaning of the clauses accordingly.

#### DA.7. Adjectives in 'subjectivized' expressions

An additional factor which has made it difficult for linguists to recognize more than a handful of items as the adjectives of the language is the assumption (resulting from lack of knowledge of Igbo transformational processes) that everything that occurs in initial position in a clause is a noun and also a subject of the clause. This may be true of certain types of clauses, but certainly not all. We saw in DA.6.1. above that adjectives cannot occur as subjects of the verb *idī* (or indeed of any other verb). There are, however, certain constructions in which, owing to transformational

deletions, adjectives can occur in initial positions, but not necessarily as subjects of those clauses. This happens when an element or a set of elements is transposed to the beginning of a clause in order that something might be said about it. The process of transposition affects elements which are not the subjects of the clauses in which they occur. It operates as follows.

(i) If the element to be transposed is a noun complement or object, or adverbial adjunct, it is transposed to the initial position and the rest of the clause is relativized and added to it as an adjunct before the expression which predicates something about it can occur, as in (2) which represents transformations of (1). The transposed element is underlined.

(1) Òbí zùrù akwà eci. 'Òbi bought a cloth yesterday.'

(2)(a) /Akwà Òbi zùrù ecí/ màrà mma. 'The cloth Òbi bought yesterday was nice.'

(b) /Eci Òbi zùrù akwà/ wù ahya. 'Yesterday (when) Òbi bought a cloth was a market day.'

(ii) If the element to be commented upon is the verb, it is left in its position and the gerundial form of it occurs in initial position. Thus from (1) we get (3).

(3) /Òzuzu Òbi zùrù akwà ecí/ wèrè Ezè iwe. 'The fact of Òbi buying the cloth yesterday angered Ezè.' ('Buying (which) Òbi bought cloth yesterday angered Ezè.')

(iii) If the expression concerned is the verb-phrase, the verb is left in its position and a Non-finite form of it, with the



complement(s) occurs in initial position. Here the Infinitive is chosen for simplicity. Thus we get (4) from (1).

- (4) /Izū akwà eci Òbi zùrù/ wèrè Ezè iwe. 'The fact of Òbi buying a cloth yesterday angered Ezè.' ('To buy cloth yesterday Òbi bought angered Ezè.')

When the clause has an attributive complement, this may be an adjective or an abstract noun, as discussed above, and this is transposed to occur with the Non-finite form of the verb which must be idī or some process verb. Thus, for instance (5) is transformed to (6), and (7) to (8).

- (5) Akwà jìrì òjì. 'The cloth is/became black.'  
 (6) /Ijī òjì akwà jìrì/ amāsighi ya. 'The fact that the cloth was/became black did not please him.' ('To be/become black cloth is/became pleased not him.')
- (7) Akwà dī ọhnyọ. 'The cloth is new.'  
 (8) /Idī ọhnyọ akwà dī/ māsìrì ya. 'The fact of the cloth being new pleased him.' (To be new cloth was pleased him.)

Attention will now be limited to (6) and (8) and sentences of this type. Further transformational operations can be performed on these sentences as follows.

- (a) First the initial infinitive verb form can be deleted, so that (6) becomes (9), and (8) becomes (10).
- (9) /Njì akwà jìrì/ amāsighi ya. 'The fact of the cloth being/becoming black did not please him.'  
 (10) /Ọhnyọ akwà dī/màsìrì ya. 'The fact of the cloth being

new pleased him.'

(b) Next, the verb in the enclosed part of the sentence can be deleted also. This, then, turns (9) into a simple sentence quite unrelated to the original one in (6) above, as (11) shows.

(11) N̄ji akwà amāsighi ya. 'The (colour/type of) blackness of the cloth does not please him.'

But this further transformational operation is blocked in the case of (10), and if carried out yields an ungrammatical sentence, (12).

(12) \* Chnuõ akwà masir̄i ya. \* 'New of cloth pleased him.'

For (8) to be grammatical and also retain its semantic meaning, only the Non-finite or the finite form of the verb, but not both, can be deleted, as in (13) below and in (10) above.

(13) /Idi ohnuõ akwà/ mäsir̄i ya. 'The fact of the cloth being new pleased him.'

The ungrammaticality of (12) is due to the fact that ohnuõ is an adjective, and a post-nominal adjective in an NP. As adjectives which occur characteristically in pre-nominal position in an NP do not occur as predicatives, except in the case of those items of Form 23 given in DA.5.1. (a) (ii), they are not involved in the transformational operation being discussed here.

For all adjectives which can occur as predicatives the rule applies, that in the clause affected by transposition and subjectivization either the Non-finite verb or the finite verb, but not both, may be deleted, if the transformation is not to

alter the semantic sense of the original construction. Furthermore, when the finite verb is deleted and the Non-finite is retained, the word nkè is usually interposed between the adjective and the noun immediately following it.

Consider the following examples.

- (14) (a) Osisî dî ogoloogo. 'The tree is tall.'  
 (b) /Idî ogoloogo osisi dî/ dî ụjọ. 'That the tree is tall is frightening.'  
 (c) /Ogoloogo osisi dî/ dî ụjọ. 'That the tree is tall is frightening.'  
 (d) /Idî ogoloogo nkè osisî/ dî ụjọ. 'The fact of the tree being tall is frightening.' (To be tall of tree is fear.)

Now the element or elements which function as subjects in these transformed sentences are considered. It will be observed that where the transposition affects a complement or complements only, it is the complement that can alone function as the subject of the sentence, as in (2) (a) and (b) where akwè and eei are subjects, though having the rest of the original clause as adjuncts. But where the transformation operation involves the VP, necessitating the bringing in of a non-finite verb, it is the whole of the original clause, now transformed, that functions as the subject, as in (3), (4), (6), (8), (9), (10), (13) and (14). Thus in those constructions from which the Non-finite verbs have been deleted it is not the first word in the remaining expression that is subject, but all

that is left, as in (9), (10) and (14)(c). In the last two adjectives are thus left in initial positions but remain there connected with the verb *idī* which follows later, and cannot be deleted. This is syntactic evidence that in such constructions what occurs in initial position is not a noun but an adjective.

Therefore the following statement which regards some morphological types of adjectives as nouns is rejected: "These examples show how the grammatical behaviour of this class of words is that of nouns, though with a restricted range. They do not seem, for instance, to occur as subjects of a verb unless they are qualified, as in (15) *Pyarīī ọ dī dī nnā*."<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that (15) is similar to (10) and (14)(c). The subject is not '*Pyarīī*' but '*Pyarīī ọ dī*' which is transformationally subjectivized.

### DA.3. Adjectives and Pronominalization

Adjectives qualify pronouns in Igbo. This happens when the noun which is qualified by an adjective is pronominalized. Demonstrative adjectives and Quantifying adjectives are commonly found qualifying pronouns, as in the following examples.

- (1) *anyī /niīle/*. 'all of us' ('all we'/'we all')
- (2) *hna /dum/*. 'all of them' ('all them')
- (3) */Gī ahnū/ m hnūkwārānī ecī?* 'What about you then whom I saw yesterday?' ('That you I did see yesterday?')
- (4) *Wèta /ya līyēē/*. 'Bring the other one.' ('Bring other it.')

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1. Green & Igwe: op.cit., p.30. Cf. Welmers, op.cit, p.316.

The usage applies also to descriptive adjectives, as in (b) of the following examples.

- (5) (a) Cìta /osisi ogoloogo/. 'Bring a collection of long sticks.'  
 (b) Cìta /hna ogoloogo/. 'Bring a collection of them that are long.' (Bring a collection of long them/ them long.)
- (6) (a) Zùta /eghu oma ahnù/. 'Buy that fine goat.'  
 (b) Zùta /ya oma ahnù/. 'Buy it, the fine one.' (Buy that fine it.)
- (7) (a) Àdhâ kpàrà /geregere manū/. 'Àdha bought fluid oil.'  
 (b) Àdhâ kpàrà /geregere yā/. 'Àdha bought some fluid one of it.' (Àdha bought fluid it.)
- (8) (a) Anyị zùtèrè /ajoō ag'ū/ n'uzò. 'We met a fierce leopard on the way.'  
 (b) Anyị zùtèrè /ajoō ya/ n'uzò. 'We met a fierce one of it on the way.' (We met a fierce it on the way.)

The translation of some of the phrases by the 'of' construction is an attempt to render them in acceptable English. In Igbo, there is no need for them as there is no sense of 'genitive' in them.

#### DA.9. Substantivization of Adjectives

As nouns can be adjectivized in the language, so adjectives can be substantivized. The substantivization of the Aorist Participle was discussed in Nf.1.5.1., pages 336-8. The process of adjectivization and of substantivization is going

on all the time, and undoubtedly has been in operation for a long time. The tragedy of Igbo is that the study of it has been fitful and limited, with the consequence that interesting features of it have been left unobserved, with the further consequence that some of these features now present very great problems for anyone interested in them. Such is the subject of this section. It is not intended therefore to discuss it, but to illustrate it.

A number of words now used as nouns, and also as adjectives, are regarded here as having been used first as adjectives, from observation of present trends. Some are given now. They all fall into one or the other of the morphological types given earlier many of which are not yet in use as nouns. The adjectives are given as (a) and their substantivized forms as (b).

- (1) (a) akwykwu 'grindable'  
       (b) akwykwu 'leaf', 'book', 'paper', 'education', etc.
- (2) (a) emememe 'doable'  
       (b) emememe 'custom', 'tradition', 'usage'
- (3) (a) erimeri 'edible'  
       (b) erimeri 'eatables', 'food'
- (4) (a) èkhèrèèkhe 'parcelled'  
       (b) èkhèrèèkhe 'parcelled corn-meal'
- (5) (a) èbhèrèèbhe 'sliced'  
       (b) èbhèrèèbhe 'sliced cassava'
- (6) (a) oboghoru 'hollow'  
       (b) oboghoru 'a hollow', 'gully', 'pit'

- (7) (a) okpokoro 'empty', 'hollow'  
(b) okpokoro 'wooden case', 'table' (from using a wooden case as table)
- (8) (a) mgberegwhu 'inclined', 'steep'  
(b) mgberegwhu 'a gradient', 'steep hill'

DA.10 Adjectives and Conjoining

(i) Normally adjectives are 'stacked' (that is, occur one after another without any conjunction) before or after the noun they qualify, depending upon their positional classes. Thus we get (1) and (2):

(1) /ìmiríkítì ajọ́ọ̀ èsìrìèse/ ọ̀khà. 'numerous foul cooked corn'

(2) egwu /ojiē gma niīle ahnu/ 'All those black beautiful goats' (goats black beautiful all those)

Sometimes they occur stacked before and after the noun, as in (3) and (4).

(3) /oloriri udughuudu/ ulọ /ochiē ukwu nūhnu/ 'that other old, tall and massively big house' ('tall massive house old big other')

(4) /ezigbo mwaramwa/ akwà /ọcha ọhnu/ 'fine, narrow, white, new piece of cloth' (fine, narrow cloth white new')

When any of the adjectives in the series requires to be specially emphasized, and can occur as a predicative, it is isolated and predicated with idi and added as a relative VP, or constitute ~~as separate~~ <sup>an</sup> independent clause. Thus (5) and (6) ~~are derived from (4)~~.

(5) /ezigbo mwaramwa/ akwà /ocha dī ohnuō/ 'Fine narrow white cloth which is new'

(6) /o wū ezigbo/ akwà /ocha ohnuō, dī mwaramwa/ 'It is fine white new cloth and is also narrow'

However, an independent clause can occur, as in (6) only if there is a preceding clause, as in (6).

(ii) Adjectives can be conjoined only when they occur in subjectivized expressions, as discussed in DA.9 above, and are the types which can occur as predicatives. Thus we get (7) and (8).

(7) /Ogoloogo nà ochiè/ akwà dī egbòchìghì ihyne ọ̀ bụ̀là. 'The fact of the cloth being long and old is no hindrance.'

(8) /Okpọ̀ọ̀ nà ukwuù/ ọ̀ dī dī m̀ ỳ̀tọ̀. 'Its being hard and big makes me happy.'

(iii) Another type of adjective conjoining is one which affects only a single adjective which is repeated, the second occurrence of it differing from the first in tones. This applies only to those adjectives which can occur prenominally because the noun to be qualified occurs after the conjoined expression. Furthermore, such adjectives must have at least three syllables in their structures. The second occurrence of the adjective has a high tone only in the initial syllable.

Such a conjoining of adjectives indicates that the noun qualified by the conjoined expression has a plural meaning (if it is not plural in form).

Consider the following examples.



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- (9) /afajara nà afàjèrà/ ulò 'untidy rooms/houses'
- (10) /nkaranka nà nkàrànkà/ akwà 'several pieces of worn out cloth'
- (11) /ojiē nà ojiè/ eghū 'several black goats'

It must be added that such conjoined expressions also imply critical attention to the quality depicted by the adjectives.

#### DA.11 Adjectives and time-references

Although the majority of adjectives are derived from verbs directly or indirect they do not have any tense, or time-reference as such. However, some types of derived adjectives have suggestions of time when used. These are Simple Participles (when used as adjectives, as in (1)), Aorist Participles (that is Form 21 adjectives), adjectives of Form 22, as in 3, and adjectives of Form 26, as in (4). The first three imply, when used, reference to the future, and the fourth reference to the past, because it is derived from a past tense clause. Consider (1) to (4).

- (1) Ọ wū ọrny /mme/. 'It is work to be done/requiring to be done'
- (2) Ọ wū ọrny /emume/. 'It is work capable of being done/worth being done'
- (3) Ọ wū ọrny /emememe/. 'It is work intended to be done'
- (4) Ọ wū /èmèrèémé/ ọrny. 'It is work already done.'

#### DA.12. Adjectives and Number

Adjectives derived from the plural verbs ịcī 'to take

several of a thing', iphō 'to collect a number of things' have the implication that the noun they qualify is plural in meaning and may be so also in form, as in (1). And the type of adjective conjoining described in DA.10 (iii) above indicates plurality in the noun.

- (1) /akwukwo/ acici 'books capable of being collected and taken away'

### DA.13 Adjectives and Negation

Adjectives of Form 27 which are derived from negative verb-phrases have negative meaning. Other types of adjectives are negated by making them the complements of the negative form of the verb idī, or the negative form of a process verb (in the case of resultative attributive adjectives, as in (2).)

- (1) (a) Òbī dī /mkpūmkpū/ (positive) 'Òbi is short.'  
 (b) Òbī /adī mkpūmkpū/ (negative) 'Òbi is not short.'  
 (2) (a) Òbī thīrī /ogoloogo/. (positive) 'Òbi is tall-grown.'  
 (b) Òbī /athī ogoloogo/. (negative) 'Òbi is not tall-grown.'

### DA.14. Comparison of Adjectives

There are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in the language. For the expression of comparative and superlative degrees the Comparative Sentence Construction has to be used (See 'Comparative Construction pp.472F), as in the following examples.

- (1) Ezè dī ojiē. 'Ezè is black.'  
 (2) Ezè dī ojiē kari/kariā Ōbi. 'Ezè is blacker than Ōbi.'

- (3) Ezè dīkàrīrī ojiē. 'Ezè is very/excessively black.'
- (4) Ezè kàrīchàrà hnà n'īdī ojiē. 'Ezè is the blackest of them.'

Although adjectives have no 'comparative' and 'superlative' forms yet the language recognizes different shades or degrees in the same quality and sets it out in different ways where this is possible. Thus, for instance, we get

- (5) akwà /cham/ 'brilliant cloth'
- (6) akwà /ocha/ 'white cloth'
- (7) akwà 'charīcharī/ 'somewhat white cloth'
- (8) akwà /achaghaacha/ 'excessively white cloth'
- (9) akwà /charīī/ 'very brilliant cloth'

DA.15. Colour Adjectives

Colour adjectives are derived from nouns or noun-phrases by duplicating them, as in the following instances.

- (1) uhyēūhye 'red' (uhye 'cam-wood')
- (2) manūmānu 'reddish-brown' (manu 'oil')
- (3) nthūn̄thu 'grey' (nthu 'ash')
- (4) nznyñznu 'white', 'greyish-white' (nzny 'white/greyish white chalk')
- (5) chyihyandhū āhyihyandhū hūīhū 'green' (chyihya 'fresh leaf')
- (6) unyīūtho unyīūtho 'soot-coloured' (unyī ūtho 'soot')

DA.16 The sequential order of Adjectives and other modifiers

The ordering of adjectives and other noun modifiers relative to the head-noun is given below. The shifting of the

positions of adjectives in 'stacks' for the purpose of emphasis is not taken notice of, except in the case of adjectives that take pre-nominal position in order to achieve the emphasis.

The ordering is set out in two sections; (a) Pre-Head Ordering, and (b) Post-Head Ordering. In the first the ordering is given from the remotest to the nearest, and in the second, from the nearest to the remotest.

(a) Pre-Head Ordering:

(V) Interrogative Adjectives: òlẹ̀ẹ̀, ńdị́í, and cumò.

(IV) Quantifiers:

(i) Pre-nominal Numerals: otù, ohu, nnù

(ii) Pre-nominal Non-numerals: òzùzù/òzùgbò, ọ̀tútọ̀, ìmíríkítì/ìmíríkítìímì/íkítì, ebírí, agha, ẹ̀fọ̀dọ̀, akaashu, afù, òwhuu, nañi, òhnàmàlè, òthèrè-ia.

(III) Descriptive Adjectives

(i) Pre-nominal Adjectives: ezi, ezigbo, ezigbo, gbon, ajoṣ, Adjectives of Form 26.

(ii) Positionally emphatic adjectives: e.g. ochiè, okpogò, etc.

(II) 'Adjectivized Nouns': e.g. okhe, nwa, nne, ebe, ag'u.

(I) Head-Noun

Two illustrative examples are given.

(1) /Òlẹ̀ẹ̀ otù ezigbo okhe nwokhe/ anyị gá ọ̀duga? 'Which one  
V IV III II I  
dependable brave man can we send?'

(2) /Ndíí ohu ogologo dínkpà osisi/ dī́sị ebe à alha? 'Where  
V IV III II I

are the twenty tall and gigantic trees that were here last year?

(III) and (II) can sometimes change positions.

(b) Post-Head Ordering

(I) Head-noun

(II) Modifying noun (Non-possessive function)

(III) Descriptive adjectives (of all types that can occur post-head)

(IV) Interrogatives: òle?, ònye?

(V) Modifying Nouns/Pronouns (possessive functions)

(VI) Numerals (cardinal and ordinal; dual)

(VII) Demonstrative Adjectives

(VIII) Quantifiers: dùm, nìlè.

(IX) Relative Clauses

If all the elements occurred, the ordering given above would obtain where there is no element emphasized. But if emphasis occurred the following changes can take place:

(a) (VII) and (VIII) can change positions;

(b) (V) and (VII) can change positions;

(c) so also can (IV) and (V); (IV) and (VI); (IV) and (VIII);

(d) (III) and (IV); (II) and (V); (II) and (IX) never change their positions.

All the elements do not have to occur in a given NP; consider (3) and (4).

(3) /Uŋ̀ akwukwo oma hnã ɛ̀tɔ ahnɛ̀ dùm ndi Isingwhũ rnɛ̀rɛ̀ àkha/  
I II III IV VI VII VIII IX

àdhàsiala. 'All those three beautiful school buildings

of theirs which the Isingwhu people built last year have all fallen down.'

(4) Ûnù sî/ulò ahyā ukwu atō niīle ōnye fūry eg'ō/ dhàrà?  
           I      II      III  VI  VIII  IV  IX

'Whose three big market-stalls which cost money all fell down, did you say?'

#### DA.17. Final observation

From what has been presented above it will be seen that the class, Adjectives, is a complex but interesting class. A simplistic approach to it is bound to be frustrating and unrewarding. The criteria and the procedure adopted before now in dealing with the class have been stated and criticised, and it has also been stated that multiple criteria rather than a single criterion more adequately handle the class, and lead to quite interesting discoveries. These criteria include morphological form, tonal behaviour, and syntactic characteristics. The use of morphological criteria reveals that there are varied morphological types of adjectives, the forms often imparting special semantic nuances to the items concerned. The tonal criteria reveals that some morphological types behave tonally differently from other types. The application of syntactic criteria, which validates analysis made on the basis of other criteria, shows that adjectives fall into syntactic classes: those that occur only in NP's and those that can occur either in NP's or in VP's, functioning as complements in the latter. They reveal also that while some are positionally fixed to the pre-nominal and others to the post-nominal positions in NP's,

some others can shift their positions from post- to pre-nominal position for purposes of emphasis. Furthermore, it has been shown above that certain transformational operations in the language can make adjectives occur in initial positions in a sentence without their being the subjects of such sentences, necessarily. And, unlike nouns which may be freely conjoined with one another, adjectives are conjoined only under limited circumstances.

The class has been very exhaustively dealt with in this work, and outside it there is very little on the subject.

CHAP. 16Derivation of Adverbs

(1) Rule 4 given in DN.2.(vi) above, p. 358, is used for the derivation of adverbs by the addition of a -rA/E affix to the first verb root before the occurrence of any other element and the repetition of the verb root. Thus we get the rule for deriving adverbs as follows:

ADV.  $\rightarrow$  (N+Verb Root<sub>1</sub>)+rA/E+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Verb Root}_2 \\ \text{Affix} \end{array} \right\}$ -rA++ (N+Verb Root<sub>1</sub>)

The fourth syllable is high and the rest low.

- (1) ñnyĩrĩkĩñnyĩ 'stubbornly', 'reluctantly' (ĩnyĩ 'to be heavy')
- (2) ñlĩrĩkĩñlĩ 'with resistance' (ĩlĩ 'to resist')
- (3) ñkwèrèkèkwè 'in a swaying manner' (ikwè 'to nod')
- (4) ñkwhèrèkèkwhè 'tautly' (ikwhè 'to hold/tie taut')
- (5) ñfèrèkèmfè 'in a scattering manner' (ifè 'to shower')
- (6) ñnyòròkònyò 'in a staggering manner'; 'arrogantly'; 'stupidly' (inyòkò 'to be arrogant/stupid')
- (7) ñfàràjàm̀fà 'in a disorderly manner' (ifà 'to wedge in'; ijà 'to open out')
- (8) ñnyèrèmaǹnyè 'from hand to hand' (iryè 'to give')
- (9) ñnyòròmaǹnyò 'in a bending manner' (iryò 'to bend')
- (10) ñkwèrèmaǹkwè 'without assurance'; 'half-heartedly' (ikwè 'to agree')

This process of derivation is very productive.

(ii) These adverbial forms are derived from the type of forms given as 23 in the lists of verb-derived adjectives. But they constitute only one type of derived adverbs. The other types



consist mainly of adjectival forms used with altered tones, but this tone alteration affects only class I verb derived adjectives. Tone alterations can also occur, in both class I and class II verb derived items as a result of emphasis, but this is not taken into consideration here. Similarly, variation in tones is introduced if the adverb is derived from an adjective which is derived from compound verbs consisting of a mixture of class I and class II verbs. Again, this type of forms will not be considered.

Adverbial forms derived in ways similar to the derivation of some morphological types of adjectives are illustrated with the verbs ifē 'to fly/blow' and isū 'to contract/shrink/draw back'.

- (a) ifē
- (1) fēm/fēm 'with a swift motion'; 'suddenly'
  - (2) fēm̄fēm̄ 'in a continuous/intermitent flying manner'
  - (3) fērīm 'with a fluttering/scattering motion'
  - (4) fērērēm 'in flying fashion'; 'with speed'; 'swiftly'
  - (5) fērīī 'with prolonged flight'
  - (6) fūfēfē 'flying/fluttering on and on'
  - (7) fūfērērē 'with continuous flight'
  - (8) +fēkpūrūrūm 'flying and alighting over' (ikpū 'to cover with')
  - (9) +fēkpūrūkpūm 'flying and alighting over suddenly/precisely'
  - (10) mfēm̄fēm̄fēm̄fē 'with flying, on and on'

(b) isū

- (1) sùṁ 'with a sudden withdrawing motion'
- (2) sùṁsùṁ 'with continuous/intermittent withdrawing motion'
- (3) sùrìṁ 'withdrawing completely and suddenly'
- (4) sùrùrùṁ 'in a withdrawing and contracting manner'
- (5) sùrìì 'withdrawing/contracting on and on'
- (6) sùsùsù 'progressively contracting/withdrawing' (in intervals)
- (7) sùsùrùrù 'continuous contracting/withdrawing'
- (8) +sùkòròròm 'in slumping manner' (ikò 'to lie in a mass')
- (9) +sùkòròkòm 'slumping and staying down'
- (10) nsùṁsùṁsùṁsù 'continuously becoming contracted'

(iii) The use of some of the derived forms is illustrated as follows:

- (1) O kwèrè nkwhà /ṅkwèrèmaṅkwè/. 'He made the promise half-heartedly.'
- (2) Nnùṁ fèrè (ùfè)/fèṁ/ fèlaa. 'The bird flew (flight) swiftly, and flew away.'
- (3) Èròpèèṁ fèrè (ùfè) /fùfèrèrè/ si Legòs ruo London. 'The aeroplane flew nonstop from Lagos to London.'

The word class of Adverbs, and the variety of expressions used by the language to express adverbial notions, are not dealt with in this work. The examples of derived adverbs given above are intended to show that it is not true that "there is no lexical category of Adverbs in Igbo represented by free forms", as Dr. Carrell alleges.<sup>1</sup> What is rather true is that

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1. Carrell: Op.cit., p.3.

the system by which the language creates these forms has until now remained undiscovered and therefore unknown, as is the case with the formation of adjectives.

CHAP. 17.

Comparative Constructions

CC.1. Types of Comparative Constructions

There are two major types of Comparative Constructions in Igbo.

- (i) Comparative Nominal Clause Construction -- in which no verb is present.
- (ii) Comparative Verbal Clause Construction -- which must have a verb.

Nominal Clause Type: This is discussed briefly as follows.

- It has two subtypes: (a) ọ̀dị̀kàlà/ọ̀h̀nàmàlà/(Adj.)+Noun+ǹkè+  
Demonstrative Adj. (à/ahnù);
- (b) othu/ikwu+(Adjective)+Noun+ǹkè+Der.  
Adj. (à/ahnù).

Such comparative constructions are exclamative constructions. Consider the following examples.

- (1) ọ̀dị̀kàlà ụlọ ǹkè à! 'what a house this (appears to be)!'
  - (2) ọ̀h̀nàmàlà ụlọ ǹkè ahnù! 'what a big house that (is)!'
    - (3) othu/ikwu ọgwoghorọ ụlọ ǹkè à! 'how gigantic this (house) is!'
      - (4) othu/ikwu ụlọ ǹkè ahnù! 'Such a house that is!'

Sub-type (b) can be transformed into a verbal clause as in (5) and (6).

- (5) Othu ọgwoghorọ ụlọ ǹkè ǎ dī! 'How gigantic this house is!'
  - (6) Ikwu ụlọ ǹkè ahnù hna rnùrù! 'What a (type of) house that (which) they built!'

Both in sub-type (a) and sub-type (b) (with an adjective), only adjectives which can occur pre-nominally are permitted.

Verbal Clause type of Comparative Constructions are now discussed. The notion of comparison can be realized by the use of the following elements:

- (a) comparative verbs (as listed below)
- (b) comparative particles with any verb
- (c) comparative suffixes with any verb

(a) The comparative verbs are:

- (7) *ibē* 'to be only (comparative-paucal)
- (8) *ihnā* 'to be as much as'; 'to be equivalent to/same as'
- (9) *ihnā* 'to be equal'; 'to be enough/sufficient'
- (10) *icō* 'to be more/greater than', 'to supercede'
- (11) *igbū* 'to be superlative' (used, as second verb, in compound verbs)
- (12) *itā* 'to compare'
- (13) *ikā* 'to be more than'; 'to exceed'
- (14) *iyī* 'to be like'; 'to resemble'; 'to seem'
- (15) *irū* 'to be about'; 'to approximate to'

(b) The particles which occur in comparative constructions are:

- (16) *kā* 'like/as'
- (17) *hā* 'as/like', 'as if/though'
- (18) *āikā* 'like/as'; 'as if/though'
- (19) *nānā/nālā* 'as/like'; 'as if/though'
- (20) *tufu* 'before' (time).
- (21) *tēr/tūtū/tīlī* 'until' (time)
- (22) *rī* 'much more'; 'far beyond' (It can also occur as a

suffix)

(c) The following suffixes occur in comparative constructions:

- (23) -ri (It is always used with the verb *ikā* in (13) above)
- (24) -rĩ ((22) above)
- (25) -cha 'much/more'
- (26) -chasi 'much more', 'most'
- (27) -tu 'a little (less/more)'
- (28) -lahna 'much more', 'far beyond/above' (See G.L.9.6.p302)
- (29) -lahna 'more', 'beyond/above'

The following adjectives always have the notion of comparison when used:

- (30) ọ̀dị̀kàlà/ọ̀dị̀màlà 'similar', 'such as'
- (31) ọ̀h̀ǹkàlà/ọ̀h̀ǹmàlà 'as (+Quality)...as'
- (32) ọ̀k̀h̀èr̀è̀k̀k̀a 'smaller', 'less/little'

The sense of comparison is present in the following antonymous pairs of adjectives:

- (33) (a) ntà/ntàcà/ntị̃ị̃ 'small/little'
- (b) ukwu/ukwũ 'big/large'
- (34) (a) ọ̀ma 'good' (b) ọ̀jọ̀ō̃/ajọ̀ō̃ 'bad'
- (35) (a) ọ̀h̀nỹō̃ 'new' (b) ọ̀chĩè 'old'
- (36) (a) ọ̀cha 'white' (b) ọ̀jĩē 'black'
- (37) (a) ọ̀gọ̀lọ̀gọ̀/akhalakha 'long/tall'
- (b) mkp̃umkp̃u 'short'

The following noun and noun-phrases have the sense of comparison in use.

(38) ichè 'difference' (used with the verb idī or ifū)

(39) othu ɔ̄zɔ 'in a different way/manner/form'

(40) ikwu ɔ̄zɔ 'in a different way/manner/form'

## CC.2. Differentiated and Undifferentiated Constructions

There are two major types of Verbal Clause Comparative Constructions:

(a) thematically undifferentiated type (called Type I)

(b) thematically differentiated type (called Type II)

### CC.2.1. Comparative Verbal Clause Construction Type I

The terms involved in the comparison are thematically undifferentiated where two (or more) such terms occur. The terms (or term when the comparison is absolute) occur as the subject element of the clause, and may be conjoined by conjunctions, as in the following examples. The terms are marked by //.

(1) /Jɔn nà Bɔb/ hnà akhalaakha. 'John and Bob are of the same height.' ('John and Bob are equal tall.')

(2) /Jɔh, Bɔb, nà Òbi/ kã akhalaakha. 'John, Bob and Òbi are taller.' (John, Bob and Òbi are more tall.')

(3) /Mà Jɔn mà Bɔb/ kàrìrì akhalaakha. 'Both John and Bob are very tall.' ('And John and Bob are much tall.')

(4) /Òbi nà Ènì/ dī ichè. 'Òbi and Ènì are different (from each other).' ('Òbi and Ènì are difference.')

When the comparison is against an absolute and unexpressed standard (as in (3)), usually one term alone occurs, and as the subject of the clause, as in (5) and (6).

(5) /ɔ̌jhi/ jòkàrìrì njò. 'ɔ̌jhi is very ugly.' ('ɔ̌jhi be-bad-more badness.')

(6) /ɔ̌jhi/ jògbùrù ònwe yā na njò. 'ɔ̌jhi is superlatively ugly.' ('ɔ̌jhi be-bad-kill himself with ugliness.')

Type I occurs with the verbs ihnà, ikā (and compound verbs with ikā as a member), when the standard is not expressed, or compound verbs with igbū as second member; and with the noun ichè, when the contrasting term is not present.

#### CC.2.2. Comparative Verbal Clause Construction, Type II

In the Comparative Verbal Clause Construction Type II, the terms in the comparison are thematically differentiated. There are four sub-types of this, distinguished as Sub-type A, B, C and D.

##### (a) Sub-type A:

The terms occur in the same verbal clause. The superordinate term functions as the subject of the clause, while the subordinate term, which is also 'the standard of comparison', occurs as the complement. The quality, state, or activity being compared, if expressed, follows the element representing the subordinate term, and may take one of the following forms:

- (i) a prepositional phrase; (ii) an infinitive phrase;
- (iii) an 'Inverted Verb Phrase' (that is a verb-phrase in which the sequence 'verb plus complement' has been inverted to 'complement plus verb'), as in (2) (d) and (3) (c) below;
- (iv) an abstract noun as in (2); (v) an adjective, as in (3).



The comparative verbs which can occur in this Type II, A, are ikā (and compound verbs with ikā), icō, and iyī.

In the following examples the abstract noun and the adjective are underlined, the terms are enclosed in //, and what is being compared is enclosed in (), which also indicates that its realization is optional, in an appropriate situation.

- (1) /Ezè/ kà /Òbi/. 'Ezè is greater than Òbi.' ('Èze is more than Òbi.')
- (2) (a) Ezè kà Òbi (n'ìdī àkò). 'Ezè is greater than Òbi in being wise/clever.'
- (b) Ezè kà Òbi (ìdī àkò). 'Ezè is greater than Òbi in being wise/clever.'
- (c) /Ezè/ kà /Òbi/ n' àkò 'Ezè is greater than Òbi in being wise.' (is more than Òbi.)
- (d) Ezè kà Òbi (àkò ādi). 'Ezè is wiser/cleverer than Òbi.'
- (e) Ezè kà ~~≡~~ Òbi (àkò). 'Ezè is wiser/cleverer than Òbi.'

(2) (b) and (c) are derived from (2) (a) by deletions; and (e) is derived from (d) by the deletion of the following verb.

These deletions are very frequent with Comparative Constructions.

- (3) (a) /Òkpu/ kà /akwà/ (n'ìdī ohnyō). 'The hat is newer than the cloth.'
- (b) Òkpu kà akwà (ìdī ohnyō). 'The hat is newer than the cloth.'
- (c) Òkpu kà akwà (ohnyō ādi). 'The hat is newer than

the cloth.'

- (d) ̀Okpu k̄ā akw̄ē (ohnuō). 'The hat is newer than the cloth.'

(In (3) the word ohnuō is an adjective of Form 1.)

- (4) /Ādhā/ yīrī /nne yā/. 'Ādha is like/resembles her mother.'

- (5) /Ọjhī/ cōrō /Ènì/. 'Ọjhī is older than Ènì.'

(b) Sub-type B:

The sub-type B involves one word, the word ichè 'difference'. It takes either the verb idī, or ifū. The superordinate term occurs as subject and the subordinate term occurs as a prepositional phrase. If the matter being compared is expressed, it occurs as a prepositional phrase also, and follows the subordinate element.

- (6) (a) /Òbī/ dī ichè /w'Ènì/ (n'ùdī). 'Òbī is different from Ènì in appearance.'

- (b) /Òbī/ fūrū ichè /n'Ènì/ (n'ikwū okwu). 'Òbī is different from Ènì in manner of speech.' ('Òbī went out difference from Ènì into-speak word.')

(c) Sub-type C:

In sub-type C, the terms in the comparison occur as subjects in two separate verbal clauses linked together by one of the comparative particles. The verb phrase is the same in both verbal clauses, with the state, quality, or activity being compared occurring as the complement. The latter element (with or without the verb) may be (and often is)

deleted from the second clause. The 'standard' is the subject of the second clause. In the following examples the terms are enclosed in //, and the deletable elements enclosed in ().

- (7) /Ezè/ dī mkpũmkpu {dika} /Òbi/ (dī (mkpũmkpu)).  
                                     {kà}  
                                     {mānā}

'Ezè is short as Òbi (is (short))'.

- (8) /ɟl̥ò à/ dᵢ ochiè {màrà  
                              {etc.} /n̩ke ȯzo/ (dᵢ (ochiè)).

'This house is old like the other one (is (old)).'

- (9) /Àdhâ/ màrà mma {dikà  
etc.} /Ùdho/ (màrà (mma)).

'Adha is beautiful as Ūdho (is (beautiful)).'

In place of the particles the noun othu/òthù or ikwu (both meaning 'manner', 'way') may occur, as in (10).

- (10) /o/ thĩrĩ ogoloogo (othu/òthù) Òbi thĩrĩ (ogoloogo).  
(ikwu)

'He (is) tall as Obi (is) (tall).'  
(grew) (grew)

Observe that when othu/ikwu occurs the verb cannot be deleted from the second verbal clause. When the verb is deleted, the word ̀nkè must be interposed between othu/ikwu and the subject now left without a verb. Thus (10) becomes (11).

- (11) Ọ thịnì ogoloogo othu /n̄ke/ Òbi. 'He is tall like Òbi.'  
('He grew tall as in the manner of Òbi's.')

Apart from the deletions which may take place in the second verbal clause, the entire construction, of the Sub-type C form, can undergo other transformational operations such as

deleting the complement of the first clause and converting the verb-phrase of the second clause into a prepositional infinitive phrase (as in (12)), and also deleting the complement of the first clause and the verb-phrase of the second, as in (13). (12) and (13) are transforms of (7) above.

(12) Ezè dīkà Òbi n'ìdī mkpūmkpu. 'Ezè is like Òbi in being short.' (i.e. Èze is as short as Òbi.)

(13) Ezè dīkà Òbi. 'Ezè is like Òbi'./'Ezè is similar to Òbi.'

In the following examples the comparison of activities is involved instead of the comparison of state, or quality.

(14) Ezè mūrù akwukwọ mǎnà Ọjhī (mūrù (akwukwọ)). 'Ezè is as learned as Ọjhī (is (learned))' ('Ezè learned book as Ọjhī (learned (book))')

(15) (a) Anyị rnūrù ọrụ dīkà unu (rnūrù (ọrụ)). 'We worked like you did.' ('We worked work like you (worked (work)).')

(b) Anyị rnūrù dīkà unù n'ìrñ ọrụ. 'We worked like you, in working.'

(c) Anyị rnūrù dīkà unù. 'We worked like you'.

(d) Sub-type D:

In Sub-type D construction, the terms in the comparison occur as subjects in two different verbal clauses which are linked together by the verb ikā (with or without suffixes) which may be followed by othu/ikwu, or kā. Deletions can take place in the second clause as in Sub-type C.

- (16) (a) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo ka kà Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo).  
 'Ezè grew tall more than Òbi grew (tall)'.  
 (b) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo kari kà Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo).  
 'Ezè grew tall much more than Òbi grew (tall)'.  
 (c) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo karià kà Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo).  
 (as (b)).  
 (d) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo kariçhaa kà Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo),  
 'Ezè grew tall very much more than Òbi grew (tall)'.

- (17) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo {  $\begin{matrix} k\bar{a} \\ kari \\ karià \\ kariçhaa \end{matrix} \}$  (Òbi).

'Ezè grew {  $\begin{matrix} \text{taller} \\ \text{much taller} \\ \text{much taller} \\ \text{very much taller} \end{matrix} \}$  {  $\begin{matrix} \text{than } \bar{O}bi \\ \text{than } \bar{O}bi \\ \text{than } \bar{O}bi \\ \text{than } \bar{O}bi \end{matrix} \} \}$ '

- (18) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo (ka) òthù/ikwu Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo).  
 (etc.)

'Ezè grew tall more than Òbi grew (tall).'

The construction type exemplified in (17) requires the noun following ka/kari/etc., to undergo tonal change if it has HH or LH tones, as in the case <sup>of</sup> Òbi becoming  $\bar{O}bi$ . If kari/karià/kariçhaa (or  $\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  + comparative suffix) occurs, the following clause may retain its verb, or verb plus complement. In that case the noun does not undergo any tonal change, as in (19).

- (19) Ezè th̀ir̀ì ogoloogo /karià Òbi th̀ir̀ì (ogoloogo)/.

The types of construction represented by (17) and (19) can be transformed into Sub-type A, above, in two ways: (a) by deleting the verb-phrase of the first clause, and realizing

the state, quality, or activity being compared in the manner stated under Sub-type A. Consider (20).

(20) Ezè kàrìrì Òbì n'ìthī ogoloogo. 'Ezè is much taller than Òbì.'

(b) ka/karì/etc., may be compounded with the first verb, the complement of the first clause deleted, and the verb-phrase of the second clause transformed into a prepositional phrase, as in (21).

(21) (a) Ezè thīkàrà Òbì { n'ìthī ogoloogo. } 'Ezè grew taller  
(b) { n'ùthī. } than Òbì.'  
(c) { n'ìthī ùthī. }

('Ezè grew more than Òbì (in growing tall.)

(in height.)

(in growing tall (lit. 'height'))

### CC.3. Exclamative Verbal Clause Comparative Construction

There is an Exclamative type of the comparative verbal clause construction, as there is one of the nominal clause type. It may be of any of the four structural types described above, but the simpler type will be used in the illustrations.

Its distinguishing characteristics are : (i) it must be a Declarative Form II verbal clause (See Intro., p. 42F); (ii) the verb must contain the verb ikā 'to be more than', and if the verb is ika itself, it must take an additional ikā, as in (b) of (2). (3) and (4).

Consider the following pairs of examples. (b) is Exclamative.

- (1) (a) Ûg'ò nàrà mma. 'Ûg'ò is beautiful.'  
 (b) /Ûg'ò ànaka mmā!/' Ûg'ò is so beautiful!'
- (2) (a) Òkpu à dīkārīrī ochiè. 'This hat is very old.'  
 (b) /Òkpu à àdīkarīka ochiè!/' This hat is so very old!'
- (3) (a) Ezè ka m inwē ihnu obodoobo. 'Ezè has a broader face than I.'  
 (b) Ezè àkaka m inwē ihnu obodoobo!/' Ezè's face is so much more broad than mine!' ('Ezè is so much more than I to have face broad!')
- (4) (a) Ivu à kārīrī arny. 'This load is rather heavy.'  
 (b) Ivu à àkarīka arnū! 'This load is so heavy!'

Observe that where the first ikā has a suffix the second ikā occurs after the suffix, as in (2) (b) and (4) (b) above.

#### CC.4. The Comparison of Qualities

As shown earlier, the comparative construction involves more than one verbal clause (at least two, the limit to which the discussion is restricted in this work, for simplicity) which by the operation of deletions and other transformational devices can be reduced to a single verbal clause with <sup>a</sup>complex structure.

When qualities are compared, the comparative verbal clause construction involves only abstract nouns of quality, or adjectives which can occur as predicatives. As was found when adjectives were being considered, these two classes of words overlap in their distribution, particularly in the VP. As the comparative construction involves verb-phrases we find

that abstract nouns of quality and predicative adjectives can occur in the same environment. So we find nouns and adjectives occurring in the same place in the following examples. (a) contains nouns, and (b) adjectives. They are distinguished by //.

- (1) (a) Ọ k̄ā ya /ikhe/. 'It is stronger than it.'  
 (b) Ọ k̄ā ya /ohnuō/. 'It is newer than it.'
- (2) (a) Ñke à dī /njo/ karia ñkè ahnu. 'This is worse than that.'  
 (b) Ñke à dī /ochiē/ karia ñkè ahnu. 'This is older than that.'
- (3) (a) Òbi k̄ā Ọjhi /uba/. 'Òbi is wealthier than Ọjhi.'  
 (b) Òbi k̄ā Ọjhi /nta/. 'Òbi is smaller than Ọjhi.'

In view of this overlap between abstract nouns of quality and predicative adjectives, the statement of Professor Carnochan is not entirely correct. He writes, "It may not be without interest to point out that it is the noun and not the adjective that is used for comparison;..."<sup>1</sup> And as pointed out on page 484 above, it is not only nouns and adjectives that are used for comparison, prepositional phrases and infinitive phrases are also used.

#### CC.5. Degrees of Comparison

There is a system of Degrees which can be abstracted from

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1. J. Carnochan: 'Egbo' -- *Lingua*, 17, no.1/2, p.17, 1967.



Igbo Comparison. It is based on the verb ikā with the suffixes -rī, -cha, and -chasi, and the verb igbū, given on pages 481-2 above. With these elements, the system of degrees which emerges is as follows:

- (i) Positive; (ii) Comparative: (a) lower, (b) higher;  
 (iii) Superlative: (a) lower, (b) higher.

The system of Degrees combines with another one which is called here the system of Magnitude. It has three terms, Neutral, Minimal and Maximal (realized by the suffixes -tū and -rī, respectively). When the two systems thus combine we get the following:

- (I) Positive Degree: (a) Neutral Magnitude - V(erb) only  
 (b) Minimal Magnitude - V+-tū  
 (c) Maximal Magnitude - V+-rī/V+gbu/V+-chasi

(II) Comparative Degree:

- (i) Lower (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka  
 (b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-tū  
 (c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-rī  
 (ii) Higher (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka+-rī  
 (b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-rī+-tū  
 (c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-rī+-rī

(III) Superlative Degree:

- (i) Lower (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka+-cha  
 (b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-cha+-tū  
 (c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka+-cha+-rī

- (ii) Higher
- (a) Neutral Magnitude -- (V)+ka+-rĩ+--cha
- (b) Minimal Magnitude -- (V)+ka+-rĩ+--cha  
+--tu
- (c) Maximal Magnitude -- (V)+ka+-rĩ+--cha  
+--rĩ

In Superlative, Higher, alternatives for -richa in the three magnitudes are -chasi and -gbu.

In translations, the minimal suffix may be translated by 'a little', 'somewhat'; and the maximal by 'far', 'very much more'.

Later below the suffixes -tu and -rĩ will be discussed a little more, and also the suffixes -lahna and -lāhna. Now the system set out above will be illustrated with the verb *ikā* (uncompounded with any other verb, as nothing is gained by such compounding, and since any other verb is merely added preceding *ikā*). The verb *idĩ* is used for the Positive Degree; and the adjective *ojiē* 'black' is compared.

(I) Positive Degree:

- (1) Neutral Ezè dĩ ojiē. 'Ezè is black.'
- (2) Minimal Ezè dĩtũ ojiē. 'Ezè is a little black.'
- (3) Maximal (a) Ezè dĩrĩ ojiē. 'Ezè is (so) very black.'
- (b) Ezè dĩgbũrũ ònwe yā n'ĩdĩ ojiē. 'Ezè is excessively black.'
- (c) Ezè dĩchāsĩ ojiē. 'Ezè is (so) very black.'

(II) Comparative Degree: (i) Lower

- (4) Neutral Ezè kà Òbi ojiē. 'Ezè is blacker than Òbi.'
- (5) Minimal Ezè kàtù Òbi ojiē. 'Ezè is a little blacker than Òbi.'
- (6) Maximal Ezè karì Òbi ojiē. 'Ezè is by far blacker than Òbi.'

(ii) Higher

- (7) Neutral Ezè kàrìrì Òbi ojiē ādì. 'Ezè is much blacker than Òbi.'
- (8) Minimal Ezè kàrìtù Òbi ojiē ādì. 'Ezè is a little much blacker than Òbi.'
- (9) Maximal Ezè kàrìrì Òbi ojiē ādì. 'Ezè is by far much blacker than Òbi.'

(III) Superlative Degree: (i) Lower

- (10) Neutral Ezè kàchà hnà ojiē. 'Ezè is the blackest of them.'
- (11) Minimal Ezè kàchàtù hnà ojiē. 'Ezè is somewhat the blackest of them.'
- (12) Maximal Ezè kacharì hnà ojiē. 'Ezè is by far the blackest of them.'
- (ii) Higher
- (13) Neutral Ezè karìcha hna ojiē. 'Ezè is much the blackest of them.'
- (14) Minimal Ezè karìchatù hna ojiē. 'Ezè is by a little the much the blackest of them.'
- (15) Maximal Ezè karìcharì hna ojiē. 'Ezè is by far much the blackest of them.'

CC.5.1. Other use of the comparative kari

The comparative kari is sometimes used as an adversative particle, with the sense 'rather than'. It is thus similar in use and meaning to thumà 'rather than' (which in turn is similar in use to khamà 'instead of'). The element which it introduces can occur at the beginning or end of the verbal clause.

Consider the following examples.

- (1) Ọ dĩ ochiè /kari (karia)/ (ya) idĩ) ọhnuo. 'It is old rather than new.'
- (2) /Kari/ (ya) idĩ) ọhnuo, ọ dĩ ochiè. 'Rather than being new, it is old.'

'ya' may be deleted alone or along with the infinitive. The difference between kari and karia is that the latter has the 'intensive' aspect suffix. thumà can be substituted for kari without any alteration in the meaning of the clause, as in (3).

- (3) (a) Ọ dĩ ochiè /thumà/ ((ya) idĩ) ọhnuo. 'It is old rather than new.'
- (b) /Thumà/ ((ya) idĩ) ọhnuo, ọ dĩ ochiè. 'Rather than being new, it is old.'

CC.5.2. The suffixes -tu and -rĩ/rĩ

The suffixes -tu and -rĩ have been defined semantically by Green as follows: "-tu: 'diminutive', 'polite';... rĩ: 'emphatic, contrastive, sense of time long past.'"<sup>1</sup> Behind

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1. Green: op. cit., p.96, 97.

these meanings, which they can have in some contexts, lies their basic grammatical function of expressing 'comparison'. Thus -tu means 'diminutive' or 'polite' because it expresses 'minimal magnitude', as in (1); and -rì has the meanings given to it (and much more) because it expresses 'maximal magnitude'. They are used in comparing states, qualities, and also activities. And it is because of their use in comparing activities <sup>that</sup> they have been given mere semantic interpretations.

(Neither suffix harmonizes with its vowel.)

(i) -tu Consider the sense of -tu in (1).

(1) Nyètu m̃ ya. (i) 'Give it to me for a little time.'

(ii) 'Just give it to me' (with the sense, 'It will take you only a little time to give it to me.')

(iii) 'Just give it to me. I shall not keep it long.'

(iv) 'Please, give it to me.'

(ii) -rì/rì Unlike -tu, -rì can occur as a particle following a noun or pronoun, or an adjective, and the weight of comparison falls on the element with which it occurs. It always takes a **low** tone, causing tone-perturbation if the preceding syllable has a low tone, and it always occurs finally in a verb or in an NP. Consider the following examples.

(2) (a) Òbî /gàrarì/ Àba. (i) 'Ezè went to Àba a long time ago.'

(ii) 'Ezè did as much as to go to

Àba.'

(iii) 'Of all things that Ezè should do, he went to Àba.'

(b) /Ezè rì/ gèrè Àba. 'Of all people, Ezè went to Àba.'  
(implying that it was either unusual for him to do so, or that he was somehow not qualified to do it.)

(c) Ezè gèrè /Àba rì/. 'Ezè went to Àba of all places/ that is so far away.'

### CC.5.3. The suffixes -lahna and -lèhna

The suffix -lahna (variant -nari) has been discussed under 'Case', in CC.9.6., p. 304. -Lèhna (-nari) is grammatically and semantically similar to -lahna, except that it has the further sense of 'to the disadvantage of', the disadvantage applying to the complement of the verb which carries the suffix. It causes toneme-perturbation in the verb.

Consider the following examples. (a) contains -lahna, (b) contains -lèhna.

- (1) (a) Ọ gbèlèhnrà rẹ̀ n'ọsọ. 'He ran faster than I did.'  
(b) Ọ gbèlèhnrà rẹ̀ n'ọsọ. 'He ran faster than I did and so escaped from me.'
- (2) (a) Ọ vùlèhnrà rẹ̀ n'ivù. 'He grew fatter than I.'  
(b) Ọ vùlèhnrà rẹ̀ n'ivù. 'He grew fatter than I to my disadvantage.'
- (3) (a) Àkẹ́ kẹ́ è ẹ̀lèhnrà nke ọzọ n'ìdì ọjì. 'This cloth is blacker than the other one.'  
(b) Àkẹ́ kẹ́ è ẹ̀lèhnrà nke ọzọ n'ìdì ọjì. 'This cloth

is regrettably bl. *okor* than the other one.' (implying that the other one would have been better if it were more black.)

-*lanna* can be substituted for by the verb *ikā* in ( ) of (1) to (3) above, but not for -*lanna* in (b).

#### CC.6. Critical comment.

There are two statements in Dr. Carrell's work which call for some critical comment in the light of what has been presented above. The first of the statements is: "Igbo has no special adjective form or adjectival modifier to indicate comparison, such as *-er* in English... Comparisons and superlatives are translated by the verb *ka*, with the general meaning 'to surpass', in normal declarative sentence constructions."<sup>1</sup>

This statement should be amended to take cognisance of the fact that while adjectives are not inflected for comparison, and the verb *ikā* is used for comparison, the verb is not used in the same form for both comparative and superlative degrees, but is inflected, as shown earlier, for the various dimensions of the comparative and superlative. This is evident even in two of Dr. Carrell's examples:

- (1) *ike gī/kā/ike m̄*. 'Your strength surpasses my strength.'
- (2) *O nwèrè ike/karachv/ ụmụ anyịm̄nụ ndị ọzọ nīlè*. 'He

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1. Carrell: *Cp.cit*, p.3.

has strength surpassing completely all the other animals./  
He was the most powerful animal.'

However, Dr. Carrell could not have recognized the fact of inflexion because, with the exception of about three suffixes, she treats the suffixes of the language as 'meaning modifying suffixes'.

Another point worth commenting on is the translation of the verb *ikā* as 'to surpass', which has become popular with the linguists. This translation misses the grammatical importance of the verb, and is consequently misleading. It is so misleading that even Dr. Carrell avoids it in another inflected form of the verb, as is evident in the second of her statements.

She writes: "Although Igbo verbs are not inflected for number, some verbs are restricted to plural noun subjects. For example, *kàrìrì* 'be plentiful.'

(3) *Nkítā* /*kàrìrì*/ *nà ñkwu*. 'Dogs are plentiful in the garden.'

(4) *Umù* /*kàrìrì*/ *nà ñkwu*. 'Children are plentiful in the garden.'<sup>1</sup>

The translation of *kàrìrì* by 'be plentiful' does not arise from the verb itself but is deduceable from the number of the subject noun (which may be overt, as in *umù* in (4), or covert, as in *nkítā* in (3)). In any case, the verb *ikā*, and all inflected forms of it for the expression of degrees (including

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1. Carrell: Op.cit., p.22.



- kariri) are never restricted to any noun/pronoun subject, whether singular or plural. Thus we can have, for instance,
- (5) Ọ kàrìrì ukwuù. 'It is much too big.'/'It is rather big.'
- (6) Hnà kàrìrì ukwuù. 'They are much too many/big.'
- (7) Ọ màkàrìrì mma. 'It is rather beautiful.'

Finally, it is not correct to say that Igbo verbs are not inflected for number. See 'Number', for instance, N.5., N.6.

CHAP. 18.Modality and ModulationMod.1. The category of Modality in Igbo

Nowhere before has modality as a category been mentioned in connection with Igbo for the reason that there is nothing in the language, exactly corresponding to the modal auxiliaries which exist in ~~English~~. But the same notion is expressed in Igbo in ways different from English, and so the use of the term 'modality' is not to be construed as implying the existence of the same forms or lexical units in Igbo as in English.

Professor Halliday distinguishes Mood and Modality in the following terms: "Mood represents the organisation of participants in speech situations, providing options in the form of speaker roles. The speaker may inform, or command; he may confirm, request confirmation, contradict, or display any of a wide range of postures defined by the potentiality of linguistic interaction."<sup>1</sup> "Modality is a form of participation in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of its status and validity in his own judgement; he intrudes and takes a position..... Modality is related to the general category that is often known as 'speaker's comment'... Modality is then the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. It is external to the content, being part of the attitude

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1. 'Notes of Transitivity and Theme in English': JL 3, 1967, p.199.

taken up by the speaker: his attitude, in this case, towards his own speech role as a 'declarer'.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to make the observation: "There is no single place in the clause where modality is located. It is a strand running prosodically through the clause; and this is further enhanced by the fact that...it may be realized also by the intonation contour, or tone."<sup>2</sup>

In Igbo modality is realized by a variety of forms which includes verbal phrases with specific tone-structure, auxiliary verbs (properly so called), particles (affixal and non-affixal), and certain auxiliary verbs (see VC.11(c), p.60F )

By bringing these varied expressions together and analysing them, a system of modality emerges.

#### Mod.2. The system of Modality

In stating the system of modality in Igbo, the terminology of Professor Halliday is adopted, with some modification.

The system of modality in Igbo consists of the following terms:

(i) Probable; (ii) Possible: (a) Possible; (b) Virtually certain; (c) Certain.

Simultaneous with the Probable/Possible runs a system of toning which indicates modification or lack of it in the

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1. 'Functional diversity in Language': Foundations of Language, 6, 1970, pp. 335, 349, 331.

2. Ibid.

Modality. It has the following terms: (a) Neutral, (b) Undertone - deduced/tentative; and (c) Overtone.

These systems are realized in a complicated, but interesting way, but they will not (for reason of space) be discussed in detail. Only an outline can be presented, as follows below, of declarative sentences.

Mod.3. The realization of PROBABLE

(I) Neutral

(a)  $\dot{\text{igā}}$  + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1))

- (1) ( $\dot{\text{O}}$  /gā ème/ yā) ( $\dot{\text{O}}$  /gā imē/ ya). 'He will (probably) do it.'

(II) Undertone

(i) deduced

(a) clause + mǎ e lēghī<sup>th</sup> anya, (as in (2))

(b) clause + mǎ + subjunctive clause, (as in (3))

- (2) O mērè yà, /mǎ e lēghī<sup>th</sup> anya/. 'He presumably did it.'

- (3) A gwàrà yà /mǎ o mee yā/. 'He was informed so that he would, presumably, do it.'

(ii) tentative

(a) òcuùmǎ + Declarative III Clause (as in (4))

(b) V +--mò in Declarative III Clause (as in (5))

(c) àmǎ/mǎ + VP in Decla.III Clause (as in (6))

- (4) Jìdhekwe eg'ō, /òcuùmǎ, Òbi ēmee ya./ 'Have some money ready then, in case Òbi would do it.'

- (5) Jìdhekwe eg'ō, /Òbi ēmemò ya./ (same meaning as (4))

- (6) Jìdhekwe eg'ō, (Òbi àmǎ) mee yā./ (same meaning as (4))  
(ò mǎ)

(III) Overtone

(a) igā + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1) above, but with more forceful utterance.)

(b) imā + Finite Verb (as in (7))

(7) I gwalaghī yā, /o mà èmē/ yā. 'If you made sure you told him, he would do it.'

(c) Declarative III Clause (as in (8))

(8) Òbi ēme ya. 'Òbi {would do it} predictably.'  
(would have done it)

Mod.4. The realization of POSSIBLE(I) Neutral

inwē ikhe + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1))

(1) O nwèrè ikhe bya /ibyā. 'He can come.' (i.e. 'It is possible he will/can come.')

(II) Undertone(i) Deduced

(a) igā + Verb 'to be' (as in (2))

(b) ikhe kwe + Declarative I/II clause (as in (3))

(c) kā + Subjunctive Clause (as in (4))

(2) (a) o /gà àwū/ yā (o gà iwū ya.) 'It could be so.'

(b) o /gà àdī/ nnoō. 'It could be so.'

(c) o /gà ème/ nnoō. 'It could happen like that.'

(3) (a) /Ikhe kwe/, o gàrà. 'Perhaps he went.'

(b) o gàrà, /ikhe kwe./ 'He went, perhaps.'

(4) o cōrō /kā o bya./ 'He wants him to come, if possible.'

(ii) tentative

(a) ocūru + Declarative II Clause (as in (5)(a))

(b) ocūru mā + Indirect Interrogative Cl. (as in (5)(b))

(c) V + -thà/NP+thà, in Interrogative Cl. (as in (6))

(d) cumō+N/cumōthà+N, in Interrogative Cl. (as in (7))

(5) (a) /Ocūru gi èvèta yā./ 'One wished that you could have brought it.'

(b) /Ocūru mà ì wètàrà ya/. (meaning same as (5)(a))

(6) /Ì wètàratha ya?/ 'Is it possible that you brought it?'  
/'Could you have brought it?'

(7) (a) /Cumō onye wètara yā?/ 'Who could have brought it?'

(b) /Cumōthà onye wètara yā?/ (same meaning as (a), but more forceful.)

### (III) Overtone (assertive)

(a) Declarative III Clause (as in (8))

(b) igā+Past + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (9))

(8) Òbi ēme ya. 'Òbi could/might/ought to have done it.'  
'Òbi could/might/ought to do it.'

(9) (Ì gwàrà Òbi), /ɔ gàrà (ēme yā)(imē ya)./ '(If you had told Òbi), he could/might have done it.'

### Mod.5. The realization of VIRTUALLY CERTAIN

(I) Neutral None.

(II) Undertone

(i) deduced: auxiliary verb gǎ/ghǎ + Finite Verb, in Declarative Clause, as in (1).

(1)(a) Òbî gǎ mē ya. 'Òbi would certainly have done it.'

(b) Òbî ghǎ mē ya. 'Òbi would certainly have done it, instead or preferably.'

(Observe that in these examples not only that auxiliary verbs are used, their tones and the form and tone of the following verb depart from the norm for complex declarative clauses.)

(III) Overtone: amà/mmà + Declarative I/II Clause, as in (2).

(2) (a) (Ì gwàrà Òbì), /amà (mmà) yā mèrè ya./ '(If you had told Òbì,) he would certainly have done it, I assert.'

(b) (Ì gwàrà Òbì), /amà (mmà) yā òmè yā./ (same meaning as (a) but reinforced with aspectual senses)

#### Mod.6. The realization of CERTAIN

(I) Neutral: (a) Simple Tense Verb in Declarative I Clause, (as in (1)(a)).

(b) ighā + Finite/Infinitive Verb, as in (1)(b);

(2) (a) Òbì mè ya. 'Òbì must do it.'/'Òbì will do it.'

(b) Òbì gà òmè yā/Òbì gà imè ya. 'Òbì will do it.'/'Òbì can do it.'

(II) Undertone: deduced/tentative

(a) ighā + inà + Finite Verb in Declarative I complex Cl. (as in (2)).

(b) {ighā}+Negation+Insistence + inà+ Finite Verb, as {ihhā} in (3)).

(2) Ȯ /gà inà òmè/ yā. 'He must be getting on doing it.'

(3) (Ȯ /ghaghì inà òmè/ yā) (Ȯ hughì inà òmè yā.) 'He must be getting on doing it.' ('He leaves not+insistence to be actually do it./He is equal not + insistence...')

(Observe that the difference between (a) and (b) above is that

while (a) uses a positive expression, (b) uses a negative one.)

(III) Overtone

(a) ɪgā/ɪnā + Simple Participle, as in (4).

(b) ɪgā/ɪnā + Finite Verb in Complex Clause Type II, as in (5)

(c) { ighē  
ihnā } + Negation + Insistence + Infinitive Verb, as  
in (6).

(d) (I) (a) and (b) above, with forceful utterance.

(4) (a) ɔ̌ gā yā mme. 'He will certainly do it.'

(b) ɔ̌ nā yā mme. 'He is certainly doing it as a matter  
of fact.'

(5) (a) ɔ̌ gā ème yā eme. 'He will certainly do it.'

(b) ɔ̌ nā ème yā eme. 'He certainly does do it.'

(6) (a) ɔ̌ ghaghì imē ya. 'He must do it.'/'He's got to do it.'

(b) ɔ̌ hnaghì imē ya. (same meaning as (a)).

Mod.7. The suffixes -mò and -thà/thà

In the realization of Modality, only two suffixes are found which have a direct part in the category. These are -mò and -thà, the latter having the possibility of occurring also as a non-affixal particle. These have already been illustrated in Mod.3. (5), and Mod.4. (6) and (7), respectively. Both of them are low-tone elements and cause tone-perturbation if preceded by syllables with low tones. But they differ in use in that -thà/thà occurs only in interrogative sentences whereas -mò does not occur in such sentences. Only -mò has been mentioned before, and by M.W. Green, in her article where



she defines it semantically as "sense of 'lest'", a sense which is derivative from its grammatical function.

#### Mod.8. Modulation

Professor Halliday distinguishes between Modality and Modulation, saying, "... the auxiliaries must, can, etc. express various types of modulation of the process expressed in the clause; modulation in terms of permission, obligation, and the like. They are part of the thesis - part of the ideational meaning of the clause. Although by and large the same verbal auxiliaries are used for 'modulation' as for modality, there are some rather fundamental differences between the two."<sup>1</sup>

The differences which Halliday points out between Modulation and Modality in English are not relevant to Igbo. However, in the language, there is a difference between modulation and modality, with regard to how they are expressed. Whereas modality uses a variety of expressions and forms, modulation is based on the use of one specific word, the verb igā 'to go'.

In the realization of modulation in Igbo, no new grammatical affix is involved, so for brevity the system will be stated (in the terms used by Halliday) and just illustrated. The system involves the following broad terms:

I. Inclination; II. Ability; III. Permission; IV. Necessity  
- (i) Obligation; (ii) Compulsion.

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1. Halliday: Foundations of Language, 6, p.336.

These are now illustrated as follows:

Mod.8.1. Inclination

(a) Willingness (weak volition)

- (1) Ònyê /gà àgbazniighe/ m̄ òkpu? 'Who'll lend me a hat.'  
 (2) /Agà m̄ àgbazniighe/ gī. 'I'll lend you.'  
 (3) Ọ /gà àgbazniighe/ gī. 'He'll lend you.'

In requests, the interrogative form of a ga-construction is considered to be still more polite than the imperative construction, even when the latter contains elements which can have polite senses. Consider (4) and (5).

- (4) Nyèturū m̄ aka. 'Please, help me.'  
 (5) Ī gà ènyetūrū m̄ aka? 'Will you please/would you please help me?'

(b) Insistence (strong volition)(with third person subject)

- (6) Ọ /gà ewèrè/ yā. 'He'll take it.'/'He'll insist on taking it.'  
 (7) Ọ /gà ewèrè yā ewèrè/. (same as (6) but implying certainty).  
 (8) Ọ /gà yà mwèrè./ (same as (6) but implying absolute certainty).

(c) Intention (intermediate volition)(with first person subject)

- (9) /Agà m̄ ịzū/ ulō à. 'I'll buy this house.'/'I intend to buy this house.'

Mod.8.2. Ability

- (10) /Agà m̄ èmelite/ yī. 'I can do it.'

- (11) ɔ /gà èmelite/ yā. 'He can do it.'  
 (12) ɪ /gà èmefū/ ya. 'You can do it.'  
 (13) /Enwèrè m̄ ikhe/ imē ya. 'I can do it.'

-lite and -fu are interchangeable, and are equivalent to in-ti like 'to have strength/power/authority'. On -lite, see CA.9.7.2., p. 307-8)

Mod. 8.3. Permission

- (14) Unù /gà ànyù/ anwùrù n'ebe à mà unu ɔɔɔ. 'You can smoke here if you want to.'
- (15) Nwa gĩ ọ /gà ɔgaturu/ m̄ ozi? 'Can your child run an errand for me, please?' (Can your child have your permission to run an errand for me, please?)
- ⌘(16) O /nwèrè ikhe/ igĩ. 'He has permission to go.'

Mod. 8.4. Necessity

(I) (a) Logical necessity

- (17) ɔ /gā àwù/·nnē̂ dètàrà lètā à. 'It will be Mother who wrote and sent this letter.'
- (18) Hnā̂ /gā inā ezù/ ikhē̂ ùgbu à. 'They must be resting now.'

(b) Characteristic behaviour

- (19) E tiighe nnū nà mirī, ɔ /gà àgbaznè/. 'If salt is put  
into water, it will dissolve.'

(II) Obligation/Compulsion

- ⌘(20) O mè ya. 'He's got to do it.'/'He must do it.'  
'He is to do it.'
- (21) ɔ /gà ème/ ya. 'He will do it.'/'He'll have to do it.'/  
'He's got to do it.'

(22) Ọ /gà yà mme/. 'He's bound to do it.'/'It is absolutely necessary for him to do it.'

(III) Obligation only

⌘(23) Ọ dĩ mkpà imē. 'It is necessary to do.'

⌘(24) Ọ dĩrị yà imē. 'It is his obligation to do it.'

With the exception of (13), (16), (20), (23) and (24), the verb igā occurs in all the examples illustrating the realization of Modulation. This fact makes it quite obvious that the expression involving this verb, and which is frequently given as the expression of 'future' in Igbo, is not as simple as is supposed. (See, for instance, Tr.4, p. 170 )

CHAP. 19.AnaphoraAn.1. Limitation in the use of the term Anaphora

It is not intended to discuss all the elements in the language which can come under the topic 'Anaphora' which includes the pronouns, the deictic elements (or demonstrative adjectives) and such pro-nouns as ̀nke 'the one', ndi 'the ones', and onye 'the person'. The discussion is restricted to three elements: kwA/-kwA, di/-di, and ni/-ni.

These three elements are grammatical elements and not just semantic ones as M.M. Green thinks, giving them the following meanings: "-di, Emphatic or softening; -kwa(-kwe) Repetitive, persuasive; -ni Colloquial, cordial."<sup>1</sup>

They always refer to a preceding sentence or clause or to a following one (in which case they are cataphoric). This fact has not hitherto been realized because the elements frequently occur without the antecedent being expressed.

All three can occur as suffixes in verbs, or as independent particles following non-verbal elements. In the latter case they take the same tone as the last syllable of the preceding word.

An.2. kwA/-kwA

Its vowel harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable and it precedes -di or -ni when it co-occurs with either of them.

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1. Green: 'Suffixes in Igbo' - African Language Studies V, 1964, pp.96-7.

Its functions are stated and illustrated as follows:

(a) It is additive in function (and therefore pluralizing, particularly as far as the verb is concerned - see N.6.1.(iv)).

(1) O nwèrè motò, /nwekwee/ rediò. 'He has a car, and has also a radio.'

(2) O ghòrò ugirī, /ghòkwaa/ akhùbèkèè. 'He picked oranges, and also picked coconuts.'

(3) Àdha èsiele nrī, Nnennà /èsikwee/. 'Àdha has cooked food, and Nnennà has cooked also.'

(b) It is co-ordinative as well as additive, but it co-ordinates verbal clauses and not NP's, as in (1) to (3) above.

(c) It gives a clause a concessive or adversative force if the clause expresses a meaning which is in some respects contrastive with that of the antecedent.

(4) O jùrù inyēre m aka n'òrnụ òkè m, 'mụ /ēnyekwere/ yā nà òkè ya. 'He refused to help me with my work, but I helped him with his own, however.'

(5) Ànyị àcoghīrā igā eci, è /mechakwa/, 'anyị àga. 'We had not really wanted to go yesterday, but afterwards, however, we went.'

(6) Òthù i kwurù /dìkwà/ mmā, mà i meeleghi ñnọō. 'What you said was alright though, provided you actually acted it out.'

(d) It gives a clause a consequence or result meaning if the antecedent is a conditional clause (as in (7) and (8)), or a comparative clause (as in (9) and (10)).

- (7) Unu lezie ànyā meruo ànyị àhụ, anyị /èlezikweē/ anyā megwara. 'If you deliberately hurt us, we shall in consequence deliberately retaliate.'
- (8) Onye chyni cùwàrà osọ, 'ya /gbàwakwa./ 'If the cow should chase any one, he had better run away.'

With this consequential force, -kwa can occur (and very frequently does so) in consequence clauses whose antecedents are not expressed. In (9) to (13) such clauses are given with the possible antecedents enclosed in ().

- (9) Byàkwa (dịkà i kwèrè nwàhà)! 'Be sure then to come (as I told you to do)! You promised'
- (10) Wètalwara m̄ ya (òthù m gwàrà gị). 'Be sure then to bring it to me (as I told you to do).'
- (11) Cukwu gòzikwee gị (n'ihyne i mèèrè hna). 'May God, therefore, bless you (for what you did for them).'
- (12) Ejikwè m̄ ogù (n'ihyne ñke à)! 'I am amazed (at such a thing)!'
- (13) O ríkwe ji (ihyne hnūryū mee). 'He will surely eat yams (whatever might happen).'

(e) It has an inferential meaning when it occurs in an interrogative clause with a comparative clause as the antecedent. The antecedent is often deleted, but is enclosed in () in the following examples.

- (14) (Othu ñke à ihnu dị gị), ọ dịkwà gị mmā? ('How you look!)  
I infer that you are not alright, are you alright?  
(How this one face is to you, it is then to you good?)

- (15) Ùnù rùkwèrè èru, ((othu) ñke à unu lèt'iràlè ngwàngwà)?  
'Did you really get there (since you have returned so soon)?'

(f) It has emphatic force when it occurs as a non-affixal particle, giving emphasis to the preceding element. Compare (a) and (b) of (16).

- (16) (a) Òbí tỳrù eg'o, Ezè /àtùkwaa/. 'Òbi contributed some money and Ezè contributed also.'  
(b) Òbí tỳrù eg'o, /Ezè kwè/ àtùkwaa. 'Òbi contributed some money and Ezè too contributed also.'

(g) It expresses unfulfilled expectation. For this it occurs twice in the same verb, has as antecedent a 'reason'/'cause', or comparative clause (which may not be expressed). And the clause in which it occurs must be an interrogative clause, as in (17) and (18), or a negative clause as in (19) and (20).

- (17) Ànyị /gàkwàkwà/ izù ìhe (ñke à o rùtèrèlè)? 'Shall we rest at all now that he has arrived? We shan't any more.'  
(18) Ì /màkwàkwà/ hny yā (dìkà o kwùrù)? 'Will you see him at all again as he said? You won't after all.'  
(19) Ùnù /àgàkwàkwaghi/ ibyā? 'Won't you really come after all?'  
(20) Ò /nàkwàkwaghi/ ème yā. 'As a matter of fact he doesn't do it any more, contrary to expectation.'

The use of such clause can also imply a feeling of regret on the part of the speaker.



(h) It expresses repetition of the same action when it occurs twice in the same verb in other types of sentences than those given in (17) to (20).

(21) /mèkwèkwè/ yā. 'Do it yet again.'

(22) Ǿ sī anyī /mèkwèkwè/ yā, ʼanyī /mèkwèkwè/ yā. 'He said that we should do it yet again and we did it yet again.'

An.3. ni/-ni

The vowel of ni/-ni does not harmonize. And it occurs finally in the verb structure when it occurs as a suffix.

Its occurrence presupposes an antecedent even when this is not expressed, as frequently happens.

(a) It expresses consequence, result, reason, or conclusion in whatever type of clause it occurs.

Consider the following examples.

(23) Anyī gwàrà unù nà anyī gà àbyè ʼùthùthù à. ʼAnyī /àbyàlani/. 'We told you that we would come this morning. We have therefore come.'

(24) Ǿ sī m sùtare yā akwukwò, ʼm /àzùtèrani/ yā akwukwò. 'He asked me to buy a book for him, so I bought a book for him.'

(25) Ǿ dhàrà ìwu, è /rieni/ yā ìwu. 'He fell foul of the rule, so he was fined.'

(26) Ya /byani/ òkà e lèwèrè anyī, è /nerani/ ihye a gà ème. 'If then he comes as is expected, it will be known, then, what will be done.'

- (27) Unu eḡḡ yā, è /nyeni/ unù ya. 'If you want it, it will then be given to you.'
- (28) Àbūḡ nà àbūḡ /wuni/ àḡ. 'Two and two are surely four.'
- (29) Thyne okwu gī /fūtārāni/ wù nà ì gaghī ibyā. 'What your statement means, therefore, is that you will not come.'

In the following examples the antecedents are not expressed, but presupposed.

- (30) /Mèeni/ yā. 'Then, do it.'
- (31) /Nyèni/ m̄ ya. 'Give it to me, then.'
- (32) /Ndeèwo ni/. 'Thank you, then.'

Any notion of 'cordiality' in its use is derived and not basic to its meaning and use.

(b) It has an emphatic sense when it occurs outside the verb structure, as in (b) of (33), and (34).

- (33) (a) Anyì kwùrù yà eci. 'We said it yesterday.'
- (b) Anyì kwùrù yà /eci ni./ 'We said it yesterday (and not on another day).'
- (34) (a) Unù wètàrà ya. 'You brought it.'
- (b) /Unu nî/ wètàrà ya. 'You people (and no one else) brought it.'

(c) It can occur twice in the same verb in the imperative clause, and consequently have both a result and an emphatic sense.

- (35) Gànini! 'Go, then (if you must)!'
- (36) Lèenini anyā. 'Look, then (if you want to see)!'

An.4. dī/-dī

The vowel of dī/-dī does not harmonize.

(a) It is used in the same way as nī/-nī but differs from it in semantic sense, in that it can imply warning, threat, advice, or regret consequent upon the meaning of the antecedent. The antecedent may or may not be expressed.

Consider the following examples.

- (36) Motò nà àbya. /Zòlidi/ n'uzò. 'A car is coming, so you had better get out of the way.'
- (37) Ebe ọ gwàràlà gị mèe yā, /mèdi/ yā. 'Since he has told you to do it, you had better do it, then.'
- (38) /Byādi/ kà m jụọ gị. 'Come now (while you are about) let me ask you (something).'
- (39) Ikhe /āgwūdila/ yā (nà ya emēbèghị ihyne ọ wùlè). 'He is already tired, then, (when he has done nothing at all yet).'
- (40) Ọ sị unu abyàlà, unù /àgadi/? 'He told you not to come, and yet you went?' (implying unbelief)

(b) It is emphatic when it occurs outside the verb, as in (41).

- (41) (a) Ezè còrò /ya dī/. 'Ezè wanted it (emph) (and nothing else).'
- (b) /Ezè dī/ còrò ya. 'Ezè (emph)(of all people) wanted it.'

(c) It can occur twice in a verb in the imperative clause, thus having result and emphatic senses.

- (42) /Gàdidi/ lèe mà ọ lètala. 'So go (emph.) and then see

CHAP. 20EmphasisEm.1. Devices for achieving Emphasis

The devices for achieving emphasis in Igbo include the following:

- (i) Phonetic features of lengthening, extra loudness;
- (ii) Alteration of tones of syllables;
- (iii) Syntactic devices:
  - (a) Transposition with or without Predication;
  - (b) Extraposition
  - (c) Substitution
  - (d) Reordering (of adjectives; of adjective and head-noun)
- (iv) Morphological elements:
  - (a) Prefix
  - (b) Suffixes
  - (c) Non-affixal particle

Of these, (i) will not be dealt with, (ii) and (iii) will be briefly stated and illustrated, and (iv) will receive more attention because it falls within the subject of the work.

Em.2. Emphasis by alteration of tones

Emphasis by tone alteration takes the form of lowering or raising the tones of syllables. But this affects only verbs in certain types of clauses where such alterations will not change the basic meanings of the clauses. So this is limited to Declarative I and Declarative III clauses when they have class I verbs, Negative clauses with class I verbs, and Imperative clauses. In some positive clauses, the tones are

raised, as in (1) and (2) and lowered in others as in (3); but in the negative ones they are lowered.

In the following examples (a) is neutral and (b) emphatic; the element involved is enclosed in //.

- (1) (a) Ọ /gàrà/ ahyà. 'He went to the market.'  
 (b) Ọ /gāra/ ahyà. 'He went (emph.) to the market.'  
 (2) (a) /Mèe/ yā. 'Get it done.'  
 (b) /Mee/ yā. 'Get it done (emph.)'  
 (3) (a) Anyị /ēmē/ ya. 'We should have done it.'  
 (b) Anyị /èmè/ ya. 'We should have done (emph.) it.'  
 (4) (a) Unu /erūtele/. 'Don't come near, you people.'  
 (b) Unu /erūtèlè/. 'Don't come near (emph.), you people.'

In this type of clause, the tones are lowered only if the verb is in final position, as in (4).

### Em.3. Emphasis by Syntactic devices

#### (i) Transposition and Predication:

If the element (in a clause) that is to be emphasized is the subject, it is merely predicated with 'Ọ wū' 'it is'. But if it is not the subject, it is transposed to the initial position of the clause and predicated (although the predicating elements are often deleted). If the element in question is a verb, a non-finite form derived from it is used in the operation, as in (8). The operation can be performed only on declarative sentences. When non-subject elements are transposed, the particle kà follows before the rest of the sentence can occur.

Consider (6) to (8) which are transforms of (5).

- (5) Èní zùrù akwukwọ. 'Èní bought a book.'
- (6) /Ọ wū Èní/ zùrù akwukwọ. 'It was Èní (who) bought a book.'
- (7) /(Ọ wū) akwukwọ/ kà Èní zùrù. 'It was a book that Èní bought.'
- (8) /(Ọ wū) ọzuzu/ kà Èní zùrù akwukwọ. 'Èní bought (emph.) the book.' ('It was buying that Èní bought the book.')

(ii) Extraposition

By this an initial nominal clause is shifted to the end and its place taken by the pronoun 'Ọ/ọ' 'it', as in (b) of (9).

- (9) (a) /Nà unù hnùrù yà/ jùrù yà anya. 'That you saw him perplexed him.'
- (b) /Ọ/ jùrù yà anya/ nà unù hnùrù ya./ 'It perplexed him that you saw him.'

(iii) Substitution

There are two forms of substitution for emphasis: in one, the element to be emphasized is replaced by a pronoun in the clause, and then occurs, preceded by the particle 'mbū', outside the clause (as in (10)(b) and (c)); in the other, the element in question (and which is normally the subject of the clause) occurs first, then its place in the clause is taken by a pronoun, as in (11)(b).

- (10) (a) /Ezè/ nọ n'ụlọ. 'Ezè is at home.'
- (b) /Ọ/ nọ n'ụlọ, /mbū Ezè/. 'He is at home, is Ezè.'
- (c) Ezè nọ /ya/, /mbū n'ụlọ. 'Ezè is there, that is at home.'

(11) (a) /Ebe à dùm/ wù ɥlō ɥlō. 'All of this place is full of houses.'

(b) /Ebe à dùm/, /ɔ/ wù ɥlō ɥlō. 'All of this place, it is full of houses.'

(iv) Reordering of Adjectives

On the reordering of adjectives for emphasis see DA.51.

(15) to (18), (26) and (27).

Em.4. Emphasis by Morphological elements

(i) The use of prefix

The use of prefix (in addition to tones) for emphasis affects only pronouns, see N.8.2. (8) to (13), pp. 221-222. and the adjective ɔjɔɔ which is the emphatic and prenominal form of ɔjɔɔ 'bad'.

(ii) The use of suffixes

The suffixes principally concerned in emphasis by the use of suffixes are -hna and -ghI. Others which can also have emphatic senses in addition to their normal functions are -di, -ni, -kwa. These latter have already been discussed in their appropriate places, under 'Anaphora'. The first two are now to be discussed.

(a) -hna

Its vowel does not harmonize. It occurs only with the verbs na and ga in Complex Clauses. In these contexts it is interchangeable with -ghI, as in (1) and (2). Semantically, it implies 'INSISTENCE', 'ASSURANCE', or 'CERTAINTY', with 'URGENCY'.

(1) (a) ɔ {/nahnâ/} ème yā. 'He is indeed getting on doing it.'  
{/naghî/}

- (b) ȝ (/gāhnā/ /gāghī/) àbya ūgbu ā. 'He will come right now, be assured.'

(b) -ghī

Its vowel harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable. Although it is commonly (but erroneously) regarded as a 'negative suffix', it can occur in negative and positive verb forms. It has the semantic sense of 'INSISTENCE/CERTAINTY'.

Its use in positive sentences of different types is now illustrated.

(a) Complex Declarative Clause:

- (2) Hnā /nālāghī/ ème othu èmème à ème (tufu unū amālite imē ya). 'They had already been having this kind of celebration, for certain, (before you people began to have it.)'
- (3) Nwa yā /nāghī/ ècotala. 'Her child is certainly growing up.'
- (4) Anyī /gāghī/ èmechala (mā ī byāla). 'We shall certainly have finished (by the time you come).'

(b) Complex Imperative Clause (Ordinary)

- (5) /Gālāghī/ mēe yā. 'Do get it done.'
- (6) /Nālāghī/ ème yā. 'Do keep on doing it.'

(c) Imperative Clause (Insistence)

- (6) /Mewēghi/ ya. 'Go on doing it, then.'
- (7) /Jidhēghi/ ya. 'Catch it, then.'

(c) Subjunctive Clause

- (8) Ya /ruteleghi/, (anyī āgawa). 'As soon as he has arrived,



(we shall set off).'

- (9) Unù kpòtù<sup>2</sup> m̄ mà unu /hnylaghi/ yā. 'Call me as soon as you have seen him.'

The occurrence of the -ghI suffix in negative verb forms may fulfil two functions at once. It may serve as a tone bearer and also add its peculiar sense of 'insistence' to the verb. It serves as a tone bearer when the subject of the clause is a pronoun and has a final low tone syllable and thus causes the prefix of the verb to take a low tone too, or the subject is a mono-phonemic pronoun element (and has a low-tone) which causes the verb not to have a prefix at all. In these conditions another element is brought in to bear the mid-tone or low-tone (in the case of class II verbs) required for the tone-structure of the negative verb form. Then -ghI is usually brought in for this function but additionally imports its characteristic meaning into the verb. However, if the verb is compounded, then -ghI need not be brought in at all. The same applies if the conditions stated earlier do not exist.

Compare (c) of (10) and (11) with (b), (c) and (d).

- (10) (a) /Unù àhnyghī/ hna. 'You did not see them.'  
 (b) /Umu àhnū/ hna. 'You (emph.) did not see them.'  
 (c) /Ezè àhnū/ hna. 'Ezè did not see them.'  
 (d) /Unù àhnychā/ hna. 'You did not see all of them.'
- (11) (a) /Ō zaghī/ ulō. 'He did not sweep the room.'  
 (b) /Ō zā/ ulō. 'He (emph.) did not sweep the room.'  
 (c) /Ezè zā/ ulō. /Ezè did not sweep the room.'

(d) /Ō zachà/ ụlŌ. 'He did not sweep all the room.'

In (b) to (d) there is no need at all to add -ghI to the verb, such an addition being otiose, unless the particular meaning of the suffix is necessitated by semantic consideration. Unfortunately, however, what began as a structural necessity, as evidenced in (10) (a) and (11) (a), has been extended in use, so that -ghI is now commonly used in written Igbo to indicate a negative construction, whether it is structurally necessary or not (as in (12)). In spoken Igbo, on the other hand, the rule is firmly observed where people are not conscious of the written style. It is because of the generalized use of the suffix for all negative verb forms that people talk about it as a 'negative suffix', but the examples given in (1) to (9) above prove this analysis to be mistaken.

(12) (a) /Ezè ahnūghị/ hna. 'Ezè did not see them.'

(b) /Ō zachàghị/ ụlŌ. 'He did not sweep all the room.'

In spite of the generalized use of the suffix, it has its distinctive meaning wherever it occurs, whether in a positive or in a negative verb form.

Three other points about the suffix are now stated. The first is that the verb in which it occurs can be nominalized, as in (13).

(13) Ọ wū /òkwùchàlàghị okwu/. 'He is one who must talk a matter to a complete finish.' ('He is talker-complete-perfective-insistence-matter.')

The second point is its position in a verb relative to a

co-occurring -ra (past tense), -ra (Benefactive), and -la (perfective). With the past tense and perfective aspect suffixes, -ghI precedes when it is under focus, but follows them when it is not. Compare (a) with (b) of (14) and (15).

- (14) (a) Ò /merēghi/ ya. 'He used not to do it, I insist.'  
 (b) Ò /meghīre/ ya. 'He used not to do (emph.) it, I insist.'
- (15) (a) Ò /melēghi/ ya. 'He never began to do it, I insist.'  
 (b) Ò /meghīle/ ya. 'He never began to do (emph.) it, I insist.'

When -ghI co)occurs with the -ra (Benefactive), it follows -ra if the correlated NP of the case suffix is also the subject of the clause, but precedes if the correlated NP of the suffix is a complement. Compare (a) with (b) of (16).

- (16) (a) Ò /merēghi/ ɔrny. 'He did not, I insist, do his own share of the work.'  
 (b) Ò /meghīre/ m ɔrny. 'He did not, I insist, work for me.'

The third point is that the negative clause in which -ghI occurs can have an imperative sense as much as that which has the perfective suffix -la (as in As.5.3., pp.129f.). The difference between the two types of clauses is that while the clause with -la in it orders that the activity should not be begun at all, or, having been begun, to be terminated, the one with the -ghI suffix insists on the activity not being done at all, as in (17).

(17) (a) Ī meghī ya. 'Don't do it at all.'

(b) Emēle ya. (i) 'Don't begin to do it.'/'Don't do it.'

(ii) 'Stop doing it.'

(iii) The use of a particle

The particle which is used for emphasis is dīdī. It has not been listed anywhere else before. It always occurs in a conditional clause and in a final position in the clause. It emphasizes an unreal, hypothetical, or unfulfilled condition.

(18) Ûnù byàrà ngwàngwà /dīdī/, 'unù gàrà èjhekwhu yā. 'If you had come early (emph), you would have met him.'

Compare (18) with unemphatic (19).

(19) Ûnù byàrà ngwàngwà, 'unù gàrà èjhekwhu yā. 'If you had come early, you would have met him.'

CHAP. 21Lexical SuffixesLex.1. Characteristics of lexical suffixes

Lexical suffixes are fewer in number than grammatical suffixes, and have the following characteristics.

- (a) They cannot be freely added to any verb root like grammatical suffixes but are restricted to the particular roots to which they are attached and with which they form unique items.
- (b) In some cases (to be pointed out in the lists below) the initial syllable to which the suffix is attached can be separately glossed, but in other cases this is not possible, thus the whole item remains unanalysable.
- (c) Where the item is analysable, the initial syllable may be a verb root or a form derived from some semantically corresponding noun, as will be indicated later where this is the case.
- (d) The suffixes always have low tones whether in the infinitive form of the item or in its Simple Participle form. The only exceptions are the suffixes -be (iv), -kpo and -hny which have high tones.
- (e) With the exception of -kpo (ix), -kpò (x) and -hny (xvi), which retain their vowels unharmonized or assimilated, and -ri (xiii), which harmonizes, all other suffixes have their vowels assimilated to that of the preceding syllable.
- (f) No other element can be interposed between the suffixes and the roots to which they are attached, without destroying the meaning of the item. This means the suffixes and their stems

form a semantically unified unit. . So the resulting items constitute a subclass of class III verbs having the tone-structure HML in the infinitive or Simple Participle form.

Lex.2. List of lexical suffixes

In what follows the list of lexical suffixes is given. Where the items, with each suffix, are restricted, these are fully listed, as far as known, but where the items are extensive, only examples are given, and attention is drawn to the fact, as in the case of (vii).

It should be added that some of the items to be given are derived from a combination of two verb roots which have now coalesced and become an integrated unit. In such cases the second verb functions as a suffix.

(i) -bà

- (1) iyābà 'to be splayed' (iyà 'to claw/draw with claws' + ibà 'to be languid')

(ii) -bè

- (2) idēbè 'to walk slowly' (idè 'to stalk' + ibè 'to perch')
- (3) ighēbè 'to walk cautiously and slowly' (ighè 'to go quietly away' + ibè)
- (4) ihēbè 'to lie/stand precariously', 'to be weak' (ihè 'to carry in the arms', 'to lever up', + ibè)
- (5) irēbè 'to be flabby, placid, flaccid' (irè 'to sway about', 'hover', + ibè)
- (6) iyēbè 'to be fragile, insecure' (iyè 'to hold, drag gingerly from the extreme of' + ibè)

(7) isēbē 'to be limp or loosely attached' (isē 'to drag/pull' + ibē)

(iii) -bò

(8) ikōbō 'to be empty though seeming substantial.'

(9) ikpōbō 'to be big but lack substance', 'to be bogus'

(10) irōbō 'to be weak/lacking in energy'

The root ko- is semantically related to ikò 'to hit so as to produce a hollow sound, which itself is related to iko 'a cup'; okoghorò 'big and hollow'; Uko 'a hollow type of musical instrument'.

The root kpo is semantically, at least, related to ikpo 'a dog-bell, cow-bell', okpo 'a pod'. And both kpo- and ko- are found combined in okpokoro 'big, filled-out', 'big and hollow'.

(iv) -bò

(11) irōbō 'to move lethargically' (irō ? + ibō 'to become weak', 'to lose taste/quality of')

(12) itūbō 'to wither/faint', 'to become weak' (itū 'to roll up' + ibō)

(v) -dà/è; -dì/ì; -dò/ò; -dù; -dhà/ò/ò

(13) ibādà 'to spread out flat' (ibā 'to break up' + -dà)

(14) igbādà 'to be exposed and flat' (igbā 'to appear' + -dà)

(15) ikwèdè 'to be exposed and flat' (ikwē 'to appear' + -dè)

(16) ibèdè 'to be/make broad/wide', 'to spread out'

(17) igèdè 'to stand out prominently' (of land, forehead, etc)

(18) igĩdì 'to do with much force and noise'

- (19) igbīdī 'to be thick and heavy'  
 (20) igīdī 'to be full, thick and heavy' (e.g. bullet, canon)  
 (21) igōdō 'to stand out' (cf. ògòdō 'shin')  
 (22) ibōdō 'to be/open wide' (e.g. of eyes)(cf. obodoobo  
 'broad', òbòdō 'village, town')  
 (23) igbōdō 'to be motionless, dull, lifeless'  
 (24) igwōdō 'to lie in a large mass', 'to be plentiful'  
 (25) igbōdō 'to hang in drooping mass'  
 (26) igwūdū 'to stand in a thick, motionless mass.' (e.g.  
 a column, pillar)  
 (27) igbūdū 'to look heavy and dull'

In the following items, the suffix is aspirated following an aspirated or nasalized syllable.

- (28) ig'ādhā 'to sit/stand/walk/crawl with legs wide apart'  
 (ig'ā 'to separate' + -dhā)  
 (29) ig'ōdhō 'to clamber' (ig'ō 'to get up laboriously' + -dhō)  
 (30) ig'òdhò 'to crouch', 'to walk pompously'  
 (31) irnōdhō 'to be plump' (of fruit)

These -dhā/-dhō suffixes are not to be confused with the verbs idhō 'to become clear' and idhā 'to fall' which retain the quality of their vowels irrespective of what precedes them, as in the following examples, (32) - (34).

- (32) igbādhō 'to become clear' (of water, eyes, senses)  
 (33) igwūdhō 'to recover from a black-out', 'to recover senses'  
 (34) igbūdhā 'to cut down'  
 (vi) -gè



- (35) irēgè 'to be slender and flexible' (irè 'to sway about';  
igè 'to trickle')

(vii) -ghA/E

The suffix -ghA/E stands apart from other lexical suffixes not only because many more verbs are found with it (of which only examples can be given here), but also because every occurrence of it implies a state rather than an action even if the root to which it is attached is an 'action' verb'. Furthermore, it very frequently occurs in the formation of adjectives and it expresses the sense of 'excessiveness'. (See Adjective: Forms 16, 17 and 20). It possibly derives from the verb ighà 'to exceed/go beyond', or from the Number suffix -ghA 'repetitive/iterative' - N.6.1.(i), p.209 )

Consider the following examples.

- (36) ibāghà 'to be greasy', 'to be spread widely' (ibā 'to spread')
- (37) idāghà 'to be too small' (idā 'to pare')
- (38) ilāghà 'to be excessively tall' (ilā 'to go (up)')
- (39) ibēghè 'to be rather unstable, weak'
- (40) igbēghè 'to be rather pendulous'
- (41) iwhnēghè 'to be rather broad, wide, expansive'
- (42) igbīghì 'to be rather thick and dull'
- (43) ikpīghì 'to be rather thick (like a club 'okpī')
- (44) igwhīghì 'to be rather small and weak', 'to look mean and miserable'
- (45) ikwīghì 'to be too small, minute'

- (46) ibōghò 'to be too open-mouthed', 'to be gaping'
- (47) ikōghò 'to be big but hollow'
- (48) ifōghò 'to be gapped'
- (49) igbōghò 'to be loose and pendulous'
- (50) ikpōghò 'to be bent, crooked'
- (51) iwhnōghò 'to be cracked, impaired', 'to be nasal (of sound)'
- (52) idūghù 'to be bulky'
- (53) idūghù 'to be bulky and heavy'
- (viii) -kà/è; -kì/ì; -kò/kò

Items with -kù/ù have not been found.

- (54) idākà (anya) 'to gaze'
- (55) igbākà 'to carry something too big for one'
- (56) ikpākà 'to be bushy', 'to be untidy in form or arrangement'
- (57) itākà (ihnu) 'to frown', 'to look serious'
- (58) ikwākà 'to straddle'
- (59) idēkè 'to walk very slowly'
- (60) igbēkè 'to wear loose and hanging'
- (61) ikpēkè 'to lack substance', 'to be like a skull'
- (62) irēkè 'to thrash about', 'to be proud/act proudly'
- (63) itēkè 'to plunge into wet substance'
- (64) ilīkì 'to be firmly glued on, tethered'
- (65) irīkì 'to act excitedly'
- (66) inyīkì 'to be quite heavy', 'to carry something quite heavy'
- (67) irīkì 'to be concealed and very quiet', 'to be unobtrusive'
- (68) itīkì 'to be very tiny' (cf. ntākiri 'small')

In the item, itākì 'to talk in a whisper', the -kì is not to be confused with -kì in (67) and (68). It is derived by abbreviation, elision and assimilation from itākàìghà 'to whisper into'.

(69) igbòkò 'to wear proudly'; 'to wear a pendant'

(70) igwòkò 'to stand/do in an imposing manner'

(71) inyòkò 'to behave in a stupid manner'

(72) idòkò 'to stand still (of a pool)'

(73) igwòkò 'to sit as though lame'

(74) ifòkò 'to be messy, untidy'

(ix) -kpo

-kpo retains its vowel unchanged by what precedes it; it has a high tone, and consequently takes a low tone if the verb root is low as in (75) and (79). In sense it implies explosive noise.

(75) idhàkpo 'to make explosive noise due to falling'

(76) igbàkpo 'to explode loudly'

(77) iwàkpo 'to make things bang together by forcing a passage among them'

(78) ikùkpo 'to explode by striking'; 'to collapse'

(79) ibìkpo 'to make a lot of noise'

(80) ifnàkpo 'to make loud shrieking noises'

(x) -kpò

The suffix retains its vowel, and in sense implies concavity. Only three items have been found with it so far, and they have more or less the same meaning, differing only in the verb root

which indicates the manner in which the concavity of the thing is produced.

(81) ɪfũkpò 'to fold/be folded so as to look blown out'

(82) itĩkpò 'to hit so as to balloon out'

(83) ɪgbākpò 'to be like/become like a blister'

(xi) -kpò

(84) ɪtũkpò 'to hop like a grasshopper', 'to do slowly and laboriously'

(xii) -lè/-lò/-lò

(85) ɪgèlè 'to be slender, slim'

(86) ibèlè 'to be soft, elastic'

(87) ifòlò 'to be untidy'; 'to do untidily'

(88) ɪgòlò 'to be long and slender'

(89) ikhòlò 'to lack stamina', 'to be worn out'

(90) ɪgòlò 'to be rather tall and slim'

(xiii) -rì/-rì

The vowel of this suffix harmonizes with that of a preceding syllable. It implies duration or length.

(91) ɪg'ārì 'to do/weave in a complicated manner'

(92) ɪzārì 'to trail about', 'to be like tassels'

(93) ikērì (anya) 'to look about with keen observation'

(94) ɪgērì (osq) 'to run swiftly'

(95) ɪgōrì 'to wander about almost interminably'

(96) ɪnōrì 'to make continuous nasal noises'; 'to buzz about'

(97) ɪtūrì 'to roam about'

(98) ɪgōrì 'to echo far and wide'

- (99) idūrī 'to sit/be still'  
 (100) igīrī 'to do/happen with much excitement'  
 (101) ikīrī 'to freeze (up)', 'to lie low and unobserved'  
 (xiv) -rō/-rē

The vowel harmonizes, and the suffix implies something unsubstantial.

- (102) ibōrō 'to be/make watery or thin'  
 (103) igwōrō 'to do haphazardly, carelessly'  
 (104) ighōrō 'to howl'; 'to plead'  
 (105) ikōrō (anya) 'to look about unprofitably'  
 (106) ikpōrō (anya) 'to look vacantly'  
 (107) ifnērē 'to flit about', 'to behave light-heartedly'  
 (108) itārē 'to besmire'; 'to shine brilliantly (of sun)'  
 (xv) -tā/-tē; -tō/-tò

The suffix suggests something done or happening from place to place or point to point. Consequently, it suggests the 'case' suffix, -tā 'to/towards'.

- (109) ifātā 'to do disorderly' ('to force into one place and then into another')  
 (110) irētē 'to make a mess here and there'; 'to soil from place to place'  
 (111) ifētē 'to shower/splash from place to place'  
 (112) ipētē 'to besmire from place to place'  
 (113) ikētē (isi) 'to have a big head'  
 (114) ifōtō 'to bubble'  
 (115) ipōtō 'to be soft or plump and lifeless in every part'

- (116) ikpōtō 'to be concaved'  
(117) ifōtō 'to mash up', 'to squeeze from place to place'  
(118) igbōtō 'to lay or drop down carelessly'  
(119) ikōtō 'to lie in one messy heap'  
(120) ijōtō 'to scramble for (of many hands)'  
(121) ipōtō 'to cut up something soft'  
(122) irōtō 'to muddy up'  
(xvi) -hny  
(123) irnāhny 'to sleep'

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